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Number 54

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Published quarterly by The Heritage Foundation, *Policy Review* is a forum for conservative debate on the major political issues of our time. The views in *Policy Review* are those of the authors. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or of The Heritage Foundation.

Correspondence should be sent to *Policy Review*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Telephone: (202) 546-4400. Requests to reprint more than short quotations should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Send address changes to *Policy Review*, Subscription Manager. Subscription rates are $18 for one year, $34 for two years, $48 for three years. Add $8 a year for foreign air-speeded delivery.

Policy Review is indexed by the Public Affairs Information Service and the Social Sciences Index. *Policy Review* has been copyrighted in 1990 by The Heritage Foundation and is available on NEXIS. ISSN 0146-5945. National distributor: B. DeBoer, 113 E. Central Street—Rear, Nutley, New Jersey 07110, (201) 667-9300.

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Beyond the Stingy Welfare State

What We Can Learn from the Compassion of the 19th Century

Marvin Olasky

Conservative politicians have been complaining for years about a spendthrift modern welfare state—but they have been stating the problem backward. The major flaw of the modern welfare state is not that it is extravagant, but that it is too stingy. It gives the needy bread and tells them to be content with that alone. It gives the rest of us the opportunity to be stingy also, and to salve our consciences even as we scrimp on what many of the destitute need most—love, time, and a challenge to be "little lower than the angels" rather than one thumb up from monkeys.

Poverty fighters 100 years ago were more compassionate—in the literal meaning of "suffering with"—than many of us are now. They opened their own homes to deserted women and orphaned children. They offered employment to nomadic men who had abandoned hope and most human contact. Most significantly, they made moral demands on recipients of aid. They saw family, work, freedom, and faith as central to our being, not as life-style options. They did not allow anyone to eat and run.

Largest Charity Army in History

The work of compassion a century ago went on amid city scenes more squalid than the ghettoes and barrios of today. Thousands of orphans roamed the streets. Infant mortality rates were 10 times present levels. New York Police Commissioner Thomas Byrnes estimated that 40,000 prostitutes worked the city in 1890. A survey found 6,576 New York slum families living in tenement "inside" rooms—rooms without windows facing out, only airshafts, which many tenants used as garbage chutes. "Walk along the streets any day and you will meet opium slaves by the score," writer Lafcadio Hearn said of 1870s Cincinnati: "They are slaves, abject slaves suffering exquisite torture." One journalist, Oliver Dyer, calculated that if all of New York's post-Civil War liquor shops (5,500), houses of prostitution (647, by his count), gambling halls, and other low-life establishments were placed for a night on a single street, it would reach from City Hall in lower Manhattan to White Plains, 30 miles away, with a robbery every 165 yards, a murder every half mile, and 30 reporters offering sensational detail.

Yet, during this period a successful war on poverty was waged by tens of thousands of local charitable agencies and religious groups around the country. The platoons of the greatest charity army in American history often were small, and made up of volunteers led by poorly paid professional managers. Women volunteers by day and men by night often worked out of cramped offices and church basements. The names of some agencies (Olivet Helping Hand Society, Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Society) were warm, and the names of others (Union for Homeless and Friendless Girls, Erring Woman's Refuge) remarkably non-euphemistic. Groups such as the Evangelical Aid Society for the Spanish and the Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Refugees worked hard to bring immigrants into the economic mainstream and familiarize them with the American cultural heritage. Often, volunteers helped others of the same religion or nationality, and sometimes scolded them. One group of Italian–Americans worked to "drive houses of ill fame, beer dives, and gangs of loafers, thieves, etc., from Italian quarters, and to stop the sale of decayed fruits and vegetables."

The Reconstruction of Human Life

Evidence of these platoons' effectiveness comes from thousands of eyewitness accounts and journalistic assessments. Liberal reformer Jacob Riis, author in 1890 of *How the Other Half Lives,* lived his concern for the New York poor by hauling heavy cameras up dozens of flights of tenement stairs day after day to produce striking photographs of dull-eyed families in crowded flats. Despite seeing much misery, Riis concluded that "New York is, I firmly believe, the most charitable city in the world. Nowhere is there so eager a readiness to help, when it is known that help is worthily wanted; nowhere are [there] such armies of devoted workers." Riis wrote of how one charity group over eight years raised "4,500 families out of the rut of pauperism into proud, if modest, independence, without alms." He noted that a

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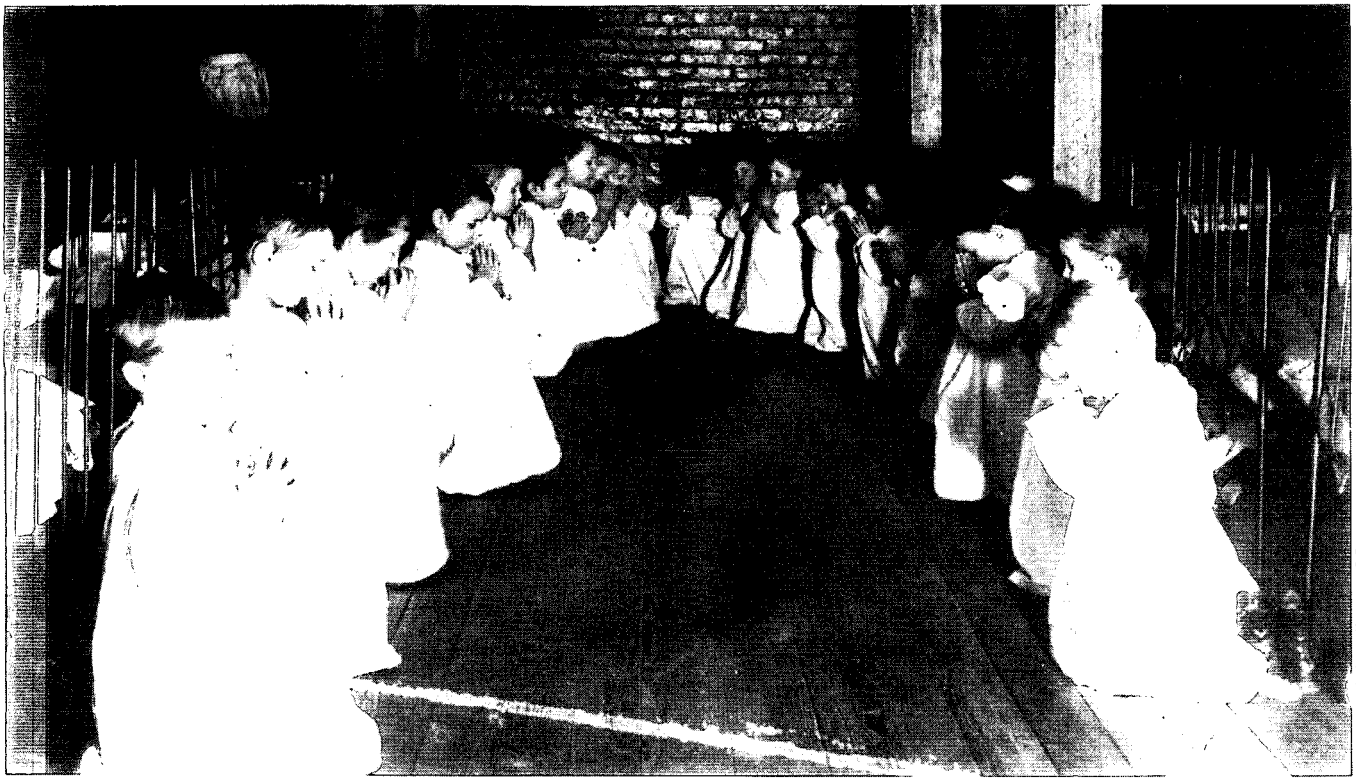

Jacob Riis/The Library of Congress

A prayer in the nursery at the Five Points House of Industry, 1889. Christians and Jews emphasized that philanthropy must address spiritual as well as physical needs.

"handful of noble women...accomplished what no machinery of government availed to do. Sixty thousand children have been rescued by them from the streets."

Other usually reliable sources came to similar conclusions. When the journalist Ray Stannard Baker visited slum missions, he saw "demonstrated again and again the power of a living religion to reconstruct the individual human life." Author Edward Everett Hale analyzed the success of the Boston Industrial Aids Society in reforming alcoholics: "These women were most of them poor creatures broken down with drink, or with worse devils, if there are worse. But...500 people in a year take 500 of these broken-down women into their homes, sometimes with their babies, and give them a new chance." A middle-class volunteer in the slums was astounded when "with my own eyes I saw men who had come into the mission sodden with drink turn into quiet, steady workers....I saw foul homes, where dirty bundles of straw had been the only bed, gradually become clean and respectable; hard faces grow patient and gentle, oaths and foul words give place to quiet speech." Writer Josiah Strong concluded in 1893, "Probably during no hundred years in the history of the world have there been saved so many thieves, gamblers, drunkards, and prostitutes as during the past quarter of a century."

Rejection of Social Darwinism

Jacob Riis and his contemporaries, however, were not arguing that the war on poverty a century ago was won, or was even winnable in any final sense. Riis wrote that "the metropolis is to lots of people like a lighted candle to the moth." Those who climbed out of urban destitution were replaced quickly by others awaiting trial by fire. But poverty fighters then saw movement and hope. They saw springs of fresh water flowing among the poor, not just blocks of ice sitting in a perpetual winter. This sense of movement contrasts with the frustrating solidity of American poverty during recent decades, as multigenerational welfare dependency has become common. And the optimism prevalent then contrasts sharply with the demoralization among the poor and cynicism among the better-off that is so common now.

What was their secret?

Their secret was not neglect, either benign or malign. True, Social Darwinism, which equated the economic struggle among humans with the struggle for survival among animals, was popular in some circles at this time. Many American Social Darwinists agreed with the philosophy's intellectual leader, Herbert Spencer, that "the unfit must be eliminated as nature intended." As a logical extension of this thought, Social Darwinism led to the belief, as one analyst wrote, that the poor should "be allowed, nay, be assisted, to die." But most Americans who were active in charities and churches fought that trend. The Brooklyn Christian Union called Social Darwinism an enemy of "the spiritual law of sacrifice" taught in the Bible and summarized most completely in the mercy of "the Father who spared not His Son for us." Buffalo minister S. Humphreys Gurteen attacked Social Darwinists who scorned "the cries of the suffering." The monthly magazine *Charities Review* criticized the belief that "the only solution of this charitable problem is to let nature eliminate the poorer classes. Heaven forbid!"

Nor was the secret of their success a century ago the showering of money on the poor. Riis often argued, "Alms do not meet the emergency at all. They frequently

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The reformation of alcoholics was one of the principal goals of charity workers, especially religious missionaries.

aggravate it, degrading and pauperizing where true help should aim at raising the sufferer to self-respect and self-dependence." New Haven minister H. L. Wayland opposed "well-meaning, tender-hearted, sweet-voiced criminals who insist upon indulging in indiscriminate charity." Their secret was not government welfare: There were very few federal or state programs, and the Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections was typical in arguing that the occasional city program "does more hurt than good, and makes more paupers than it relieves." *Charities Review* pointed out that private agencies could be just as bad as government ones, when it criticized "that miscalled charity which soothes its conscience with indiscriminate giving."

Instead, the charity workers of a century ago succeeded because they were inspired by seven ideas that recent welfare practice has put aside. For convenience of memory we may even put them in alphabetical order, A through G. *Affiliation:* Emphasizing the restoration of broken ties to family and friends. *Bonding:* Forging long-term, one-on-one contact between a volunteer and a needy person. *Categorization:* Using "work tests" and background checks to distinguish among different types of applicants. *Discernment:* Learning how to say "no" in the short run so as to produce better long-term results. *Employment:* Requiring work from every able-bodied person. *Freedom:* Helping the able needy to resist enslavement to the charity of governmental or private masters. *God:* Emphasizing the spiritual as well as the material.

Enforcing Family Obligations

Let's begin where poverty fighters a century ago began, by emphasizing *affiliation.* The prime goal of relief, in the words of New York charity leader Edward Devine, was not material distribution but "affiliation...the reabsorption in ordinary industrial and social life of those who for some reason have snapped the threads that bound them to the other members of the community."

When individuals or families with real needs applied for material assistance, charity workers began by interviewing applicants and checking backgrounds with the goal of answering one question: "Who is bound to help in this case?" Charity workers then called in relatives, neighbors, or former co-workers or co-worshippers. "Relief given without reference to friends and neighbors is accompanied by moral loss," Mary Richmond of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society noted: "Poor neighborhoods are doomed to grow poorer and more sordid whenever the natural ties of neighborliness are weakened by our well-meant but unintelligent interference." When material support was needed, charities first went to relatives and others with personal ties instead of appropriating funds from general income. "Raising the money required specially on each case, though very troublesome, has immense advantages," one minister wrote: "It enforces family ties, and neighborly or other duties, instead of relaxing them." Church groups and the United Hebrew Charities even hired detectives and lawyers to track down and bring into court husbands who deserted wives and children.

Affiliation was important for both old and young. A typical case from the files of the Associated Charities of Boston notes that when an elderly widower applied for help, "the agent's investigation showed that there were relatives upon whom he might have a claim." A niece "was unable to contribute anything," but a brother-in-law

"Nothing creates pauperism so rapidly as the giving of relief to [able-bodied] persons without requiring them to earn what they receive by some kind of honest labor."

who had not seen the old man for 25 years "promised to send a regular pension," and he did. The brother-in-law's contribution paid the old man's living expenses and reunited him with his late wife's family. "If there had been no careful investigation," the caseworker noted, the man would have received some bread, but would have

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remained "wretched in his filthy abode."

Similarly, abandoned young people were to be placed in alternative families, not institutionalized. In Baltimore, the Memorial Union for the Rescue of Homeless and Friendless Girls offered teen-agers free rooms with private families; they were expected to do chores just like other members of the family. Orphans were to be placed with families as quickly as possible—a century ago that meant days or weeks, not months or years in foster care. The American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless noted that its 1,000 children sheltered each year were "not consigned to institution life but were transferred by adoption to Christian homes." The New York Children's Aid Society alone found permanent homes for 70,000 children. Jacob Riis wrote, "The records show that the great mass, with this start given them, became useful citizens."

Affiliation could also mean reinvolvement with religious or ethnic groups. The New York Charity Organization Society asked applicants what they professed or how they had been raised, and then referred them to local churches and synagogues. Some groups, such as the Belgian Society of Benevolence, the Chinese Hospital Association, the French Benevolent Society, the German Ladies' Society, the Hungarian Association, and the Irish Immigrant Society, emphasized ethnic ties. Members of the same immigrant group tended to help each other on an individual level as well.

Warm Hearts and Hard Heads

When adult applicants for help were truly alone charities encouraged *bonding* with volunteers, who in essence became new family members. Charity volunteers a century ago usually were not assigned to paper-pushing or mass food-dispensing tasks, but were given the opportunity to make large differences in several lives over several years. Each volunteer had a narrow but deep responsibility. The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charitable Relief noted: "A small number of families, from three to five, are enough to exhaust all the time, attention, and friendly care which one visitor has." The thousands of volunteers were not babied by promises of easy satisfaction and warm feelings. Instead, the Philadelphia Society warned that volunteers would have "discouraging experiences, and, perhaps for a time little else," but would nevertheless be expected to maintain "the greatest patience, the most decided firmness, and an inexhaustible kindness."

Such personal involvement gave charity workers "a weight and influence that no amount of charitable gifts of food and money" could ever have brought. Volunteers were often called "slum angels" as they became welcome sights in many tenements. Slum angels minded babies, helped wash clothes, and made food for the sick. One charity leader noted that a visit "very often" meant "several hours spent in...hard and difficult work," and pointed out that if needs were *not* desperate, visitors could "rest assured" that they were "switching off the right track." There was a catch, however: those being helped had to work hard to help themselves. If, over time, those who needed to change their ways refused to do so, volunteers were instructed to shake the cockroaches off their feet and move on.

There were failures, but success stories also emerged. The magazine *American Hebrew* in 1898 told of how one man was used to dependency, but volunteers "with great patience convinced him that he must earn his living"—soon he was, regaining the respect of his family and community. Similarly, a woman had become demoralized, but "for months she was worked with, now through kindness, again through discipline, until finally she began to show a desire to help herself." A man who had worked vigorously but could no longer do so because of sickness was helped to develop a new trade in mending broken china. Edward Everett Hale told of one woman who had been to the House of Correction 10 times and was heading for an 11th visit until a New Hampshire postmaster took her into his own home so that he and his wife could give her personal attention day after day; she finally straightened up. Speakers at the Indiana State Conference on Social Work regularly told of those "transformed from dependent to respectable citizens."

Woodyards next to homeless shelters were as common in 1890 as liquor stores are in 1990: charity managers could see whether applicants were willing to work, and the applicants could earn their keep.

Not by Money Alone

The key was personal willingness to be deeply involved. Nathaniel Rosenau, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, noted that good charity could not be based on the "overworked and somewhat mechanical offices of a relieving society." Protestant minister Gurteen similarly asked whether the chief way for the better-off to help their neighbors was "by giving a handsome subscription from a full purse to this or that charity? By small doles of money or clothing to some favored individual? By doing our charity by proxy?" "No!" he thundered, and went on to insist that Buffalo citizens become "personal workers" concerned with more than "the mere relief of bodily wants." Another magazine about charity, *Lend a Hand*, regularly reminded readers that they could not "discharge duties to the poor by gifts of money alone....Let us beware of mere charity with the tongs." *Charities Review* emphasized the importance of understanding "charity in its original meaning of 'love,' not charity in its debased meaning of 'alms.'"

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Philanthropic groups such as the Associated Charities of Boston saw their role not as raising more money, but as helping citizens to go beyond "tax-bills [or] vicarious giving" by serving "as a bureau of introduction between the worthy poor and the charitable." Managers at New York's 1,288 charitable organizations a century ago had as their major task the coordination of tens of thousands of volunteers who provided food, clothing, fuel, shelter, and employment, supported free schools and kindergartens, organized sea excursions and summer camps, staffed free hospitals and dispensaries, and constructed missions, reformatories, libraries, and reading rooms. The goal was always personal contact.

"Unworthy, Not Entitled to Relief"

But such contact was not naive. Volunteers—typically, middle-class church members—were helped by the careful *categorization* that charities required upon initial contact with applicants. Charities did not treat everyone equally—and, because they were private, they did not have to. Instead, charity organization societies considered "worthy of relief" only those who were poor through no fault of their own and unable to change their situation quickly. In this category were orphans, the aged, the incurably ill, children with "one parent unable to support them," and adults suffering from "temporary illness or accident." Volunteers who were tender-hearted but not particularly forceful were assigned to this category of the needy.

"You can judge the scale on which any scheme of help for the needy stands by this single quality, Does it make great demands on men to give themselves to their brethren?"

Other applicants for aid were placed in different categories and received different treatment. Jobless adults who showed themselves "able and willing" to work, or part-time workers "able and willing to do more," were sent to employment bureaus and classified as "Needing Work Rather Than Relief." Help in finding work also was offered to "the improvident or intemperate who are not yet hopelessly so." However, the "shiftless and intemperate" who were unwilling to work were categorized as "Unworthy, Not Entitled to Relief." In this group were "those who prefer to live on alms," those with "confirmed intemperance," and the "vicious who seem permanently so." Volunteers who agreed to visit such individuals had to be of hardier stock and often of rougher experience; often the best were ex-alcoholics or ex-convicts.

Work Before Eating

How would agencies know the categories into which applicants fell? Background checks helped, but "work tests" were a key self-sorting device, and one that also allowed the dispensing of aid while retaining the dignity of the recipient. When an able-bodied man asked an agency for relief, he often was asked to chop wood for two hours or to whitewash a building. A needy woman generally was given a seat in the "sewing room" (a child-care room often was nearby) and asked to work on garments that would be donated to the helpless poor or sent through the Red Cross to families suffering from the effects of hurricanes or tornadoes. Woodyards next to homeless shelters were as common in 1890 as liquor stores are in 1990: charity managers could see whether applicants were willing to work, and the applicants could earn their keep.

The "work test" occasionally received criticism from those who insisted that charity should be "unconditional," but minister Gurteen argued that it was not "a very hard-hearted thing for the public to require an equivalent of labor, from those who are able to give it, in return for the relief which they receive." He asked, "Is it not in the sweat of his brow that man is to eat his bread? Is not the Commandment, 'Six days shalt thou labor'?" He then quoted the Apostle Paul's injunction that "If a man will not work, he shall not eat," and noted that experience supported revelation: "When the managers of a Boston charity attached thereto a woodyard, and announced that relief would be given to no able-bodied man, unless willing to do a certain amount of work, the daily number of applicants fell off at once from 160 to 49. In every city, in which the test has been applied, it has been eminently successful."

The work test, along with teaching good habits and keeping away those who did not really need help, also enabled charities to teach the lesson that those who were being helped could also help others. The wood was often given to widows or others among the helpless poor. At the Chicago Relief and Aid Society woodyard in 1891, 872 men reportedly chopped wood and, while receiving 6,337 tickets for meals and lodging, also earned enough income for the woodyard that 2,396 tickets could be given free to invalids and others unable to work. In Baltimore, the Friendly Inn gave free room and board to those unable to work, but for the able "sawing and splitting four sticks entitles to a meal, ten sticks to a lodging." The inn stated that 24,901 meals were earned in 1890 and 6,084 given without work.

Discernment against Fraud

Categorization went along with *discernment*, which grew out of the benign suspicion that came naturally to charity workers who had grown up reading the Bible. Aware from their theology of the deviousness of the human heart, 19th-century charity workers were not surprised when some among the poor "preferred their condition and even tried to take advantage of it." The St. Louis Provident Association noted that "duplication of alms is pursued with cunning and attended most invariably with deceit and falsehood." One magazine reported that a "woman who obtained relief several times

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on the ground that she had been deserted by her husband, was one day surprised at her home with the husband in the bedroom. She had pretended that the man was her boarder." The husband turned out to have a regular income. Jacob Riis noted that some claims of illness were real, but other times a background check revealed "the 'sickness' to stand for laziness, and the destitution to be the family's stock in trade."

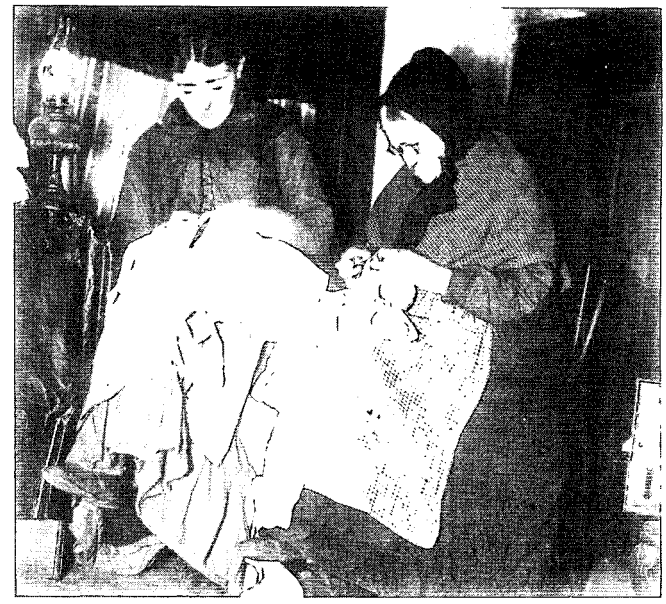
Only discernment on the part of charity workers who knew their aid-seekers intimately could prevent fraud. Baltimore charity manager Mary Richmond wrote that her hardest task was the teaching of volunteers "whose kindly but condescending attitude has quite blinded them to the everyday facts of the neighborhood life." To be effective, volunteers had to leave behind "a conventional attitude toward the poor, seeing them through the comfortable haze of our own excellent intentions, and content to know that we wish them well, without being at any great pains to know them as they really are." Volunteers had to learn that "well-meant interference, unaccompanied by personal knowledge of all the circumstances, often does more harm than good and becomes a temptation rather than a help."

Discernment by volunteers, and organizational barriers against fraud, were important not only to prevent waste but to preserve morale among those who were working hard to remain independent. One charity worker noted, "Nothing is more demoralizing to the struggling poor than successes of the indolent or vi-

Women volunteers by day and men by night worked out of cramped offices and church basements to raise the poor from pauperism to independence.

cious." The St. Louis Provident Association solution was to require volunteers to abide by set rules of giving:

- To give relief only after personal investigation of each case....
- To give necessary articles and only what is immediately necessary....
- To give what is least susceptible of abuse....
- To give only in small quantities in proportion to immediate need; and less than might be procured by labor, except in cases of sickness....
- To give assistance at the right moment; not to prolong it beyond duration of the necessity which calls for it....
- To require of each beneficiary abstinence from intoxicating liquors....



Jacob Riis/The Library of Congress

When an able-bodied woman sought relief, she was given a seat in the "sewing room" (a child-care room was often nearby) and asked to work on garments given to the helpless poor.

- To discontinue relieving all who manifest a purpose to depend on alms rather than their own exertions for support.

Doles without discernment not only subsidized the "unscrupulous and undeserving" but became a "chief hindrance to spontaneous, free generosity," and contributed to "the grave uncertainty in many minds whether with all their kind intentions they are likely to do more good than harm." Only when "personal sympathy" could "work with safety, confidence, and liberty," would compassion be unleashed.

Compulsory Employment

The next key element in the fight against poverty was long-term *employment* of all able-bodied household heads. *Charities Review* stressed the importance of work, and proclaimed, "Labor is the life of society, and the beggar who will not work is a social cannibal feeding on that life." Indiana officials declared, "Nothing creates pauperism so rapidly as the giving of relief to [able-bodied] persons without requiring them to earn what they receive by some kind of honest labor." An emphasis on work would have been savage had jobs not been available—but, except during short-lived times of "business panic," they were. A single-minded work emphasis also would have been unfair if alternatives to begging did not exist during short-lived periods of unemployment—but private charities in every major city provided the opportunity to work for food and lodging.

Most of the able-bodied poor accepted the work obligation, partly because of biblical teaching and partly because they had little choice. S. O. Preston in New Haven reported that fewer than one out of a hundred refused to work in the woodyard or sewing room, perhaps because "there is no other institution in this city where lodging can be secured except by cash payments for

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Jacob Riis/The Library of Congress

Volunteer "slum angels" minded babies, helped wash clothes, and made food for the sick.

same." The New Orleans Charity Organization Society reported that it provided lodging to 6,000 persons one year but turned away 143 who were "shiftless" and unwilling to work; its motto was, "Intelligent giving and intelligent withholding are alike true charity."

Had there been alternatives, bad charity might have driven out good. After several years of easy-going charity in Oregon, N. R. Walpole of Portland "found among the unemployed a reluctance to work, and regarded compulsory work as the only solution of the problem." New York charity leader Josephine Lowell wrote, "The problem before those who would be charitable, is not how to deal with a given number of poor; it is how to help those who are poor, without adding to their numbers and constantly increasing the evils they seek to cure."

Jacob Riis agreed; when the tough standards of some New York groups appeared to be weakening, Riis foresaw a tribe of "frauds, professional beggars...tightening its grip on society as the years pass, until society shall summon up pluck to say with Paul, 'If a man will not work neither shall he eat,' and stick to it." Riis, like other Christians a century ago, kept returning to the apostolic teaching. Jewish leaders, meanwhile, emphasized that a person unwilling to work could not justify his conduct even by citing a desire to study the Bible: they quoted a Talmudic saying, "All study of the Torah that is not accompanied by work must in the end be futile and become the cause of sin." Within the Talmudic tradition, avoiding dependency was so important that even work on the Sabbath was preferable to accepting alms: one rabbi said, "Make thy Sabbath a weekday and do not be reduced to need the help of human beings."

The Right to Work

Along with an emphasis on employment came a focus on *freedom*—which was defined by immigrants not as the opportunity to do anything with anyone at any time, but as the opportunity to work and worship without governmental restriction. Job freedom was the opportunity to drive a wagon without paying bribes, to cut hair without having to go to barbers' college, and to get a foot on the lowest rung of the ladder, even if wages for that job were low. Freedom was the opportunity for a family to escape dire poverty by having a father work long hours and a mother sew garments at home.

The goal of charity workers was to show poor people how to move up while resisting enslavement to the charity of governmental or private masters. Church programs were devoted to the attainment of economic freedom through the acquisition of job skills. A check of 112 Protestant churches in Manhattan and the Bronx alone shows that among them were 92 industrial, evening, or sewing schools, 45 libraries or reading rooms, and 50 employment offices or small-sum savings banks often called Penny Provident Funds (pennies add up, the ministers preached). St. Bartholomew's, an Episcopalian church located in an area of New York City to which immigrants from the Middle East were flocking, sponsored a tailor shop that provided work for 35 women and produced 3,600 garments for needy children. Its employment bureau filled over 2,500 jobs annually. Its volunteers, fluent in Armenian, Syriac, and Turkish, staffed special job-finding and evangelism programs for immigrants. The church had 2,000 evening students taking free classes in English composition, dressmaking, embroidering, sewing, and cooking, along with classes (for a small fee) in stenography and bookkeeping.

Charity leaders and preachers frequently spoke of freedom and showed how dependency was slavery with a smiling mask. Minister Joseph Crooker noted that "it is very easy to make our well-meant charity a curse to our fellow-men." Social worker Frederic Almy argued that "alms are like drugs, and are as dangerous," for often "they create an appetite which is more harmful than the pain which they relieve." Governmental welfare was "the least desirable form of relief," according to Mary Richmond, because it "comes from what is regarded as a practically inexhaustible source, and people who once receive it are likely to regard it as a right, as a permanent pension, implying no obligation on their part." If charity organizations were to do better, they had to make sure the poor understood that "dirt and slovenliness are no claim to help; that energy and resource are qualities which the helper or helpers will gladly meet half-way."

"Revere the Precepts of the Bible"

The seventh principle of the social covenant of the late 19th century was an emphasis on *God*, and religious faith and duty. "True philanthropy must take into account spiritual as well as physical needs," one charity magazine proposed. Poverty will be dramatically reduced if "the victims of appetite and lust and idleness...revere the precepts of the Bible and form habits of industry, frugality, and self-restraint," Pennsylvania state charity commissioners declared. The frequent conclusion was

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that demoralized men and women needed much greater help than "the dole of organized charities."

There were some differences between Christians and Jews as to what that help was. The biblically orthodox Christians of the late 19th century worshipped a God who came to earth and showed in life and death the literal meaning of compassion—*suffering with.* Christians believed that they—creatures made after God's image—were called to suffer with also, in gratitude for the suffering done for them. Jewish teaching emphasized the pursuit of righteousness through the doing of good deeds, particularly those showing loving-kindness (*gemilut chasadim*). The difference was significant—but both approaches led to abundant volunteering. Furthermore, similarities in theistic understanding led both Christians and Jews to emphasize the importance of personal charity. The Good Samaritan in Christ's story bandages the victim's wounds, puts him on a donkey (the Samaritan walks alongside), takes him to an inn, and nurses him there. The Talmud also portrayed personal service as "much greater than charity," which here is defined as money-giving.

The religious underpinning of compassion in America was in place as early as 1725 when Puritan minister Benjamin Colman told his congregation that "compassion and Mercy to the poor is Conformity to God." Colman emphasized that he was talking about personal involvement, and not mere monetary transfer: "Christ seeks not yours but you. God values our *Hearts* and *Spirits* above all our Silver or Gold, our Herds and Flocks. If a Man would give all the Substance of his House instead of Love, the Loves of his Soul and the Souls of his House, it would be contemned."

Bluebird's Salvation

Christians and Jews both read an Old Testament that depicts compassion not as an isolated noun, but as the culmination of a process. Repeatedly in Judges and other books, the Bible tells of how when the Israelites had sinned they were to repent and turn away from their sin—only then, as a rule, would God show compassion. Late-19th-century Americans who read the Bible regularly did not see God as a sugar daddy who merely felt sorry for people in distress. They saw God showing compassion while demanding change, and they tried to do the same. As the *Saint Vincent De Paul Quarterly* explained,

> The Vincentian must be prepared to discipline, admonish, and encourage....[Most of the poor] must be disciplined into providence, for they are seldom provident for themselves. To be their true benefactor, the visitor must admonish them to know and appreciate their high destiny.

Groups such as the Industrial Christian Alliance noted that they used "religious methods"—reminding the poor that God made them and had high expectations for them—to "restore the fallen and helpless to self-respect and self-support."

In addition, Christians believed that the Holy Spirit could and would rapidly transform the consciences of all those whom God had called. Those who believed in fighting poverty through salvation were delighted but not surprised to read in the *New York Herald* of how "the woman known as Bluebird up to a year ago was one of the worst drunkards in the Lower East Side....Scores of times she had been in the police courts." Then she was counseled by an evangelist and agreed to go to the Door of Hope rescue home. She was converted and the *Herald* reporter told what happened:

> I went to 63 Park Street, the Five Points Mission Hall. A big crowd of ragged, bloated, and generally disreputable looking men and women were seeking admission....A very pleasant looking young woman dressed neatly in black and having a bunch of flowers at her waist...spoke to them of love and hope. The crowds kept coming until the break of day. No one would ever think that the neatly attired young lady speaking so appealingly had once been the terror of the slums, always alert to get in the first blow.

Some 100 of Bluebird's former gang associates changed their lives over the next several years as, in the words of the *New York Times*, she was "transformed into one of the most earnest and eloquent female evangelists

"A handful of noble women...accomplished what no machinery of government availed to do. Sixty thousand children have been rescued by them from the streets."

who ever worked among the human derelicts in dark alleys and dives" and "threw her whole soul in the work of evangelism among her former associates." Most of those 100 conversions were permanent, a follow-up years later concluded.

Abandonment of Categorization

In 1890 Jacob Riis combined realism and optimism. New York's "poverty, its slums, and its suffering are the result of unprecedented growth with the consequent disorder and crowding," he wrote. "If the structure shows signs of being top-heavy, evidences are not wanting—they are multiplying day by day—that patient toilers are at work among the underpinnings." The good news was that, through many charitable efforts, "the poor and the well-to-do have been brought closer together, in an every-day companionship that cannot but be productive of the best results, to the one who gives no less than to the one who receives." Riis concluded that, "black as the cloud is it has a silver lining, bright with promise. New

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York is today a hundredfold cleaner, better, purer, city than it was even ten years ago....If we labor on with courage and patience, [these efforts] will bear fruit sixty and a hundred fold."

As the 1890s wore on, however, many well-meaning people were not content with laboring on patiently. Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, and other leaders of the Social Gospel movement began to argue that good charity must be universalistic and unconditional. Part of their new thinking was based on a changed view of the nature of God and the nature of man. The older view saw God as both holy and loving; the new view tended to mention love only. The older anthropology saw man as sinful and likely to want something for nothing, if given the opportunity. The new view saw man as naturally good and productive, unless he were put in a competitive environment that warped finer sensibilities. In the new thinking, the work test was cruel, because a person who has faced a "crushing load of misfortunes" should not be faulted if he does not choose to work: "We ask ourselves whether we should have done any better if we had always lived in one room with six other people." Change would not come when a person was challenged, but only when he was put into a pleasant environment so that his true, benevolent nature could come out.

The 19th-century war on poverty was undermined by the insistence of the Social Gospel movement that charity be universalistic and unconditional.

Materialism of the Social Gospel

It soon became customary for leading journalists and academics to argue that only the federal government could create a socioeconomic environment that would save all, and that those who were truly compassionate should rally behind the creation of new programs. Some had faith that governmental construction of housing projects could bring about the new day. B. O. Flower, editor of the popular magazine *The Arena*, envisioned in 1893 "great buildings, each covering a square block and from six to eight stories high." Professor Richard Ely, founder of the American Economic Association, argued that only "coercive philanthropy"—taxation of all, like it or not—would "establish among us true cities of God." In 1899, the nation's most-read newspaper, the *New York Journal*, ran columns that purported to show how every problem of "social misery and wrong" could be solved by officials with "a genuine and earnest and passionate desire for the betterment of mankind." Welfare programs could "become the outer form of the altruistic spirit—the unselfish, loving, just nature of the new man."

Ironically, what was called the "Social Gospel" brought with it a materialist emphasis that led some new philanthropists to exhibit embarrassment and annoyance with the evangelical emphases of the older programs. Why did the Magdalene Benevolent Society have to use "Christian principles" in its "work among fallen women"? Why did leaders of the New York Christian Home for Intemperate Men think it vital to embrace "distinctly Christian" principles of "physical, moral, and spiritual restoration" in order to help inebriates and opium addicts? The Social Gospel-oriented *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* suggested that such emphases were wrongheaded, for university-educated people now knew that "social wrongs" caused individual problems that would readily disappear as the poor were placed in a better material environment.

Decline of Personal Involvement

Those who had volunteered to save souls as well as bodies (and who believed that saving souls was the way to save bodies) found the new emphases frustrating, and often retreated from social work. Personal involvement tended to decrease. Previously, volunteers who became impatient were asked to remember how patient God was with them as He forgave their sins: "If every time a family under our treatment backslided, we should give up in despair," one charity group commented, "little permanent good could be accomplished." But as the ideas of affiliation, bonding, and so forth were deemphasized, professionals trained in social work "efficiency" began to dominate agencies. They often had neither the time nor patience to bond with applicants, yet they did not want amateurs to complicate matters. At the United Charities of Chicago by 1915, for example, "interested laymen were as likely to be consigned to a desk job as they were to be assigned to a family." When volunteers at one charity organization wanted more involvement, its president announced that his staff was "so well organized" that there was little for volunteers to do.

As the new materialistic, professionalized, and government-focused thinking became imbedded in academic thought, private charities even began to be portrayed as the villains because they made it "easy for the state to evade responsibility." One new thinker, Frank Dekker Watson, praised a Philadelphia group's announcement that it would no longer help widows, for only when private charity shrank would pressure to increase "public funds" grow. Increasingly, some saw the existence of points of light as a token of governmental weakness rather than a sign of social strength. Furthermore, as personal involvement and commitment became less expected and less praised, the move to equate compassion with cash picked up speed. In 1929, just before the stock market crash, the *Literary Digest* described the "habit" among the wealthy of "flinging purses and crying: 'Spend this for me!'" One wealthy Chicagoan, when asked why her peers were not involved in person-to-person activity, said, "Organizations look after everything, and they give to them, so why think about it?"

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Entitlement Rather Than Need

The result of these and other changes was that when a major economic crisis emerged in the early 1930s, it seemed not only natural but inevitable to rely on governmental programs run by professionals and emphasizing material transfer rather than individual challenge and spiritual concern. During the Depression, when millions of individuals were not responsible for their plight, and jobs were not readily available, many governmental programs made moral sense as temporary expedients (although some may have prolonged overall economic misery). The continuation of some New Deal relief programs during the postwar return to prosperity then set the stage for the modern crisis of the welfare state—although in the '50s, most poor families remained intact and most people still saw benefits not as rights but as backups only for use during dire emergencies.

It was in the 1960s, under conditions of prosperity rather than duress, that a cultural revolution led to attacks on any kind of categorization and investigation of welfare applicants. Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty was a disaster not so much because of its new programs but because of their administered emphasis on entitlement rather than need. Opportunities to give aid with discretion disappeared as welfare hearings became legal circuses and depersonalization triumphed. Talk of affiliation and bonding was seen merely as an attempt to fight wars on poverty cheaply. Small efforts at categorization and discernment were seen as plots to blame the poor rather than the socioeconomic system that trapped them. "Freedom" came to mean governmental support rather than the opportunity to work and move up the employment ladder. A *Time* magazine cover asked whether God was dead. He certainly seemed that way in much of what went by the name of philanthropy, even in many churches and synagogues.

It is now widely recognized that the entitlement revolution of the 1960s has not helped the poor. More women and children have been abandoned and impoverished. Crime and drugs have destroyed the economies and the communities of the inner cities. The poor generally, and homeless individuals specifically, are treated like zoo animals at feeding time. Rarely are they treated as men and women created in the image of God with moral responsibilities.

The Jacob Riis Collection/The Library of Congress

Charities routinely used work tests and background checks to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor.

To see firsthand what homeless individuals could receive and were expected to do, I recently spent a couple of days dressed as a homeless person in Washington, D.C. I was given or offered lots of material at shelters and agencies, both government-supported and private—lots of food, lots of medicine, and lots of clothes (even a bathing suit so I could use a free swimming pool). But not once was I asked to do anything—not even to carry away my tray after a meal.

An able-to-work, homeless person in 1890 would have been asked to take some responsibility for his own life, and to help others as well, by chopping wood or cleaning up trash. Then he would have had to make contact with other people, whether relatives or former colleagues. Now he is free to be a "naked nomad," shuffling from meal to meal.

Demoralization among the poor in 1990 is matched by "compassion fatigue" among the better-off, whether on the political left or the right. The liberal columnist Ellen Goodman recently described the "slow process" by which "generosity can turn into resentment and sympathy can turn hard....I wonder what personal price we pay for disillusionment." Mickey Kaus in *The New Republic* has pointed out that since we now have "no principle to tell us when our abstract compassionate impulses should stop," we are supposed to have "compassion for the unmotivated delinquent who would rather smoke PCP than work." He concluded in frustration that "we are left with the indiscriminate dispensing of cash in a sort of all-purpose socialized United Way campaign." Kaus is right about what we are

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left with—but that frustration could equally well lead to a backlash in the form of a neo-Social Darwinist dismissal of the poor.

The alternative to indiscriminate handouts from the left hand or a right-handed return to Social Darwinism is now, as in the late 19th century, a moral realism based on belief in God and the high destiny of each man and each woman—for each is created in God's image. We have seen from the failure of the Great Society that there are no shortcuts in fighting poverty. There are no rational alternatives to investigating the claims of applicants, to requiring work, to demanding that fathers provide for their children. There is no good substitute for personal contact. The struggle against poverty requires time and moral judgment. As Professor Robert Thompson of the University of Pennsylvania put it in 1891: "You can judge the scale on which any scheme of help for the needy stands by this single quality, Does it make great demands on men to give themselves to their brethren?"

Flight from Responsibility

The lessons of charity in the 1890s can be applied to the 1990s. Today, when confronted with a needy individual, do we find out "who is bound to help in this case," or do we immediately proffer aid? Studies show that many homeless alcoholics have families—they just do not want to be with them. Often, those who have been married have abandoned their wives and children. Many of the homeless have had jobs, but they just do not want to stick to them. When we hand out food and clothing indiscriminately, aren't we subsidizing disaffiliation? Do government and private programs increase the likelihood that a pregnant, unmarried teen-ager will be reunited with those on whom she actually is dependent, whether she wishes to admit it—parents, the child's father—or do they offer a mirage of independence? Do programs encourage single-parenting? Do fathers now effectively have the choice of providing or not providing?

The crisis of the modern welfare state is not just a crisis of government. Too many private charities dispense aid indiscriminately—ignoring the moral and spiritual needs of the poor and, in so doing, treating them more as animals than as people.

On the subject of bonding, let's look particularly at what many religious institutions do. Are boards of deacons often mere distributors of a "deacon's fund" of cash donations and cans of food—or do they act as a switchboard to connect better-off congregation members with the needy? Nathaniel Rosenau of the United Hebrew Charities noted a century ago, "If every person possessing the capability should assume the care of a single family, there would not be enough poor to go around." Individuals and families all have different callings—some may adopt hard-to-place children, others may provide rooms of refuge for abandoned women persevering through crisis pregnancies, and so on—but everyone can do something. Do churches and synagogues convey through both words and programs the biblical messages of personal involvement and mutual obligation?

Are there ways that governmental programs can encourage bonding? Cash contributions are now tax deductible, but what about the offering of a room to a homeless person or to a pregnant and abandoned woman? Going back to the 17th century, town councils sometimes covered the out-of-pocket expenses of those who took in the destitute, and a tax deduction of this kind—carefully designed to avoid creating a new victim class or widespread fraud—could be useful. Similarly, when farmers took in older orphans they provided care but also received work, and there was nothing wrong in that economic tradeoff, which benefited all. The economy today does not allow the same agricultural incentives, but tax deductions for all adoption expenses similar to those for the medical expenses of birth, and significant tax credits for the costs of adopting hard-to-place children, could be another way to lower economic barriers to bonding. Government action can be only a secondary affecter of attitudes, of course, but if political leaders want to do something useful, they may consider such ideas.

Updating the Work Test

We could also use some of the categorizing sensibility of a century ago. One *Charities Review* article described the "floating population of all large modern cities" as including some "strangers seeking work" and needing temporary help, but a larger number of "victims of intemperance and vice." That's not all that different from today, with studies showing a majority of the homeless in major cities suffering from alcohol or drug abuse. What we have often forgotten in our rush to help "the homeless" generally is the Baltimore Charity Organization Society's warning that the worst kind of "wastefulness" is that which "squanders brotherly love in the doing of useless or mischievous work." Don't we need to stop talking about "the homeless" in abstraction and start distinguishing between those who need a hand (such as the mentally ill, and abandoned women with small children) and those who desperately need a push?

Work-test requirements for the able-bodied at each shelter, if alternative handouts were not available, would have the same effect as those of a century ago. Only the truly needy would come, and the few malingerers would be quickly exposed. Most would learn to help themselves and others, not by chopping wood these days, but by

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A Jacob Riis photo of the New York Foundling Asylum, 1888.
Riis called New York at that time the most charitable city in the world.

cleaning up streets and parks or working at other tasks. Thousands of crack babies, born addicted to cocaine and deserted by mothers who care only for the next high, are languishing with almost no human contact under bright lights in hospitals. Some volunteers already hold the trembling, sometimes twitching babies, but there are not enough. Why shouldn't homeless women and men who are gentle and healthy enough be assigned to hold a baby for an hour in exchange for a meal?

The work test can be updated in many other useful ways. Yet, instead of developing ways to change behavior, some homeless advocates so lack discernment that they fight even small standard-setting attempts. In New York last year, a shelter administrator was reprimanded after he wrote a memo proposing that residents of a men's shelter not be allowed to wear dresses, high heel shoes, and wigs. An official of the Coalition for the Homeless argued that "the memo is evidence of a real misconception of what the shelters are all about. Trying to curtail freedom of expression, trying to shape the behavior of clients, is completely inappropriate." A century ago, the major task of shelters was to shape behavior in positive ways. Now, a director of Chicago's Center for Street People says the center's role is "to be supportive, not of a particular life-style in the sense of endorsing it, but supporting people." But is the center, by not supporting any particular life-style, truly supporting people, or is it helping to perpetuate their problems?

The Need for Spiritual Revival

In a way, our ideas about poverty reflect our ideas about the nature of man, which in turn are tied to ideas about the nature of God. New ways of fostering affiliation, bonding, categorization, discernment, employment, and freedom are important—but in the end, not much will be accomplished without a spiritual revival that transforms the everyday advice people give and receive, and the way we lead our lives. Two stories—one from a Christian source, one from a Jewish source—may illustrate this point.

The Christian story was told by John Timmer, a minister in Michigan who was a child in Holland half a century ago. His parents at that time hid Jews from the Nazis. Earlier this year he asked, "Why did my parents do it? Why did they risk their own lives and possibly those of their six children? What madness possessed them to

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take such risks?" Timmer wrote, "The only reason I remember my father giving was this: 'As God shows compassion to us, so we must show compassion to others.'" Timmer added, "These are words in which rescuers make themselves the equal of the rescued because both are equally dependent on the compassion of God." That realization suffused American charity a century ago. Without it, the will to put up with all the problems of dealing with poverty, and the will to maintain moral realism, disappear.

The Jewish story was told by concentration camp survivor Joseph Horn. He discussed his reactions when a black teen-ager recently stole several hundred dollars from him and was later arrested. Horn thought back to 1945 and how, shortly after deliverance from camp, he stole a German bicycle and was arrested by English military police. When a Jewish chaplain came to visit, Horn told him the theft was justified: The Germans had killed the other members of his family and taken his possessions. "And then I asked, why am I not entitled to this miserable bike?"

Isn't it time we realized that there is only so much that public policy can do? That only a richness of spirit can battle a poverty of soul?

The chaplain's answer was that we are made in God's image and should not spit on that reflection by stealing or acting in other disgraceful ways. Horn noted that the teen-ager who stole his money in 1990 "may have been convinced, just as I was, that he was simply taking back what his peers tell him was justifiably his, if it had been properly distributed in the first place." Every time we tell someone he is a victim, every time we say he deserves a special break, every time we hand out charity to someone capable of working, we are hurting rather than helping. Horn concluded, "My question is this: Will this young man meet a real chaplain who will help him, the way I was helped?"

Limits of Public Policy

When I walked around Washington as a homeless person, I met people who felt they were doing good, but no real chaplains. No one even pointed me in the right direction, even when I hinted at where I wanted to go. Once, at a very good free breakfast spot, when the kind young waitress asked me for the fourth time if she could bring me anything more to eat, I asked (with my homeless mumble), "Could I have a...Bible?" Puzzled, she asked, "You want a bagel? a bag?" I said, "Bible." She answered, "I'm sorry, we don't have any Bibles." Isn't it time we moved beyond bread and bags, beyond the material?

Certainly, our political leaders can break down some programmatic barriers to compassion, but isn't it time we realized that there is only so much that public policy can do? Certainly it's good to "empower" the poor so they are not in thrall to the welfare establishment, but isn't it time to realize that only a richness of spirit can battle a poverty of soul?

The crisis of the modern welfare state is not just a crisis of government. Too many private charities dispense aid indiscriminately—ignoring the moral and spiritual needs of the poor and, in so doing, treating them more as animals than as people. The government of a pluralistic society is inherently incapable of tending to these spiritual needs, so the more effective provision of social services will ultimately depend on their return to private and especially to religious institutions. We need to make sure that our alternative points of light provide light and not just another shade of darkness. The century-old question—does any given "scheme of help...make great demands on men to give themselves to their brethren?"—is still the right one to ask. Most of our 20th-century schemes have failed. It's time to learn from the warm hearts and hard heads of the 19th.

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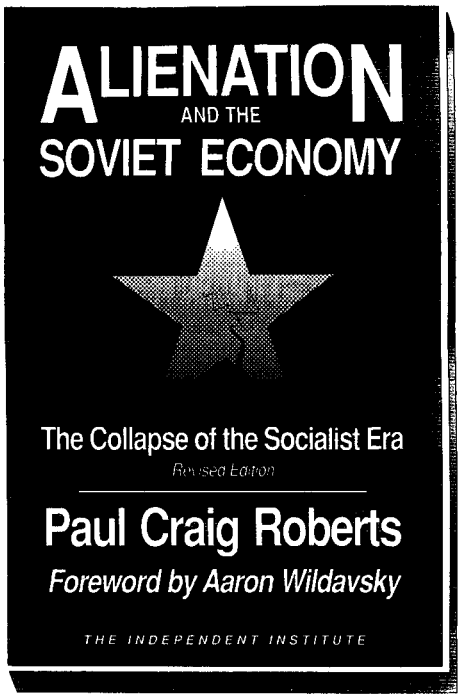

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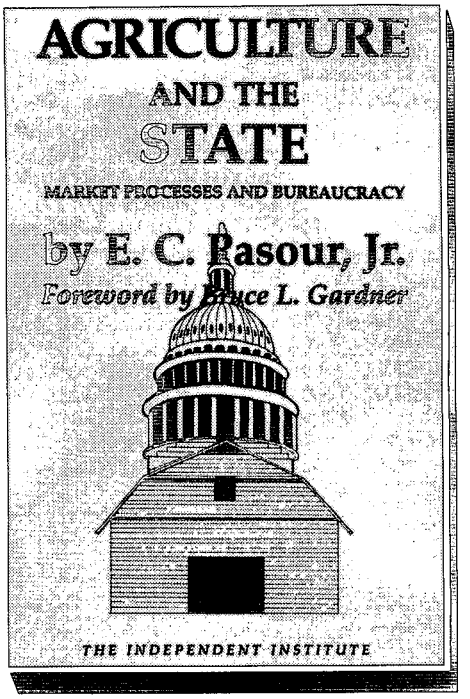

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The Green Thumb of Capitalism

The Environmental Benefits of Sustainable Growth

William K. Reilly

Murmurs of agreement rippled through the business world last year when the new chairman of Du Pont, Edgar S. Woolard, declared himself to be the company's "chief environmental officer." "Our continued existence as a leading manufacturer," he said, "requires that we excel in environmental performance."

Ed Woolard has plenty of company these days. The sight of CEOs wrapped in green, embracing concepts such as "pollution prevention" and "waste minimization," is becoming almost commonplace. Businessmen increasingly are acknowledging the value, to their profit margins and to the economy as a whole, of environmentally sound business practices—reducing emissions, preventing waste, conserving energy and resources. Government is trying to help by creating market incentives to curb pollution, by encouraging energy efficiency and waste reduction, and by developing flexible, cost-effective regulatory programs. The recognition by business leaders and government that a healthy environment and a healthy economy go together—that in fact, they reinforce each other—reflects a growing awareness throughout society of this profound reality of modern life.

Less has been said or written, however, about the other side of the coin—the environmental benefits of a prosperous, growing economy. Many environmentalists remain ambivalent—and some openly suspicious—about many forms of economic growth and development. Entire industries are viewed as unnecessary or downright illegitimate by a shifting subset of activist, although not mainstream, environmentalist opinion: offshore oil development, animal husbandry, plastics, nuclear energy, surface mining, agribusiness. These skeptics equate growth with pollution, the cavalier depletion of natural resources, the destruction of natural systems, and—more abstractly—the estrangement of humanity from its roots in nature. Studs Terkel's trenchant comment about corporate polluters—"They infect our environment and then make a good buck on the sale of disinfectants"—remains a common attitude among certain activists. At the grass-roots level, conflicts over industrial pollution, waste disposal, and new development tend to erupt with particular intensity and passion. One activist recently put it to me directly: In relation to waste incinerators, he said, "People think we're NIMBYs (Not-In-My-Backyard). But we're not. We're NOPEs (Not-On-Planet-Earth)."

The skepticism of some environmentalists toward growth is grounded in painful experience. Historically, economic expansion has led to the exploitation of natural resources with little or no concern for their renewal. At some levels of population and economic activity the damage from such practices was not readily apparent. But growing populations, demands for higher living standards, and widespread access to the necessities of modern life in economically advanced societies—and even in developing countries that provide raw materials to richer consumers—have created steadily increasing pressures on the environment. These include air and water pollution, urban congestion, the careless disposal of hazardous wastes, the destruction of wildlife, and the degradation of valuable ecosystems. Up to half of the wetlands in the lower 48 states that were here when the first European settlers arrived are gone; and the United States continues to lose 300,000 to 500,000 acres of this ecologically—and economically—productive resource to development every year. Furthermore, the byproducts of rapid industrialization have become so pervasive that they are altering the chemical composition of the planet's atmosphere, depleting stratospheric ozone and adding to atmospheric carbon dioxide.

Economic development based on unsustainable resource use cannot continue indefinitely without endangering the carrying capacity of the planet. Old growth patterns must change—and quickly—if we are to ensure the long-term integrity of the natural systems that sustain life on Earth.

Great Expectations

To achieve *sustainable* growth—growth consistent with the needs and constraints of nature—we need to secure the link between environmental and economic policies at all levels of government and in all sectors of the economy. Harmonizing economic expansion with en-

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Manila, Philippines. The world's worst pollution problems are in poorer rather than richer countries.

vironmental protection requires a recognition that there are environmental benefits to growth, just as there are economic benefits flowing from healthy natural systems. Most environmentalists realize this, and a growing number are working creatively toward new policies that serve the long-term interests of both the environment and the economy.

How does economic growth benefit the environment?

First, growth raises expectations and creates demands for environmental improvement. As income levels and standards of living rise and people satisfy their basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing, they can afford to pay attention to the quality of their lives and the condition of their habitat. Once the present seems relatively secure, people can focus on the future.

Within our own country, demands for better environmental protection (for example, tighter controls on land development and the creation of new parks) tend to come from property owners, often affluent ones. Homeowners want to guarantee the quality of their surroundings. On the other hand, environmental issues have never ranked high on the agenda of the economically disadvantaged. Even though the urban poor typically experience environmental degradation most directly, the debate proceeds for the most part without their active participation.

The correlation between rising income and environmental concern holds as true among nations as it does among social groups. The industrialized countries with strong economies and high average standards of living tend to spend more time and resources on environmental issues, and thus to be better off environmentally. Between 1973 and 1984, when Japan emerged as a global economic power, it also took significant steps to clean up its historic legacy of pollution; and the energy and raw materials used per unit of Japanese production decreased by an impressive 40 percent. In contrast, the developing nations, mired in poverty and struggling to stay one step ahead of mass starvation, have had little time and even less money to devote to environmental protection. Some of the world's worst and most intractable pollution problems are in the developing world and Eastern Europe.

Recent United Nations data analyzed by the World Resources Institute (WRI) show that the rivers with the highest levels of bacterial contamination, including urban sewage, are in Colombia, India, and Mexico. The WRI also reports consistently higher levels of sulfur dioxide and particulate air pollution in cities in Eastern Europe and the Third World than in most (although not all) of the cities in the developed world. And it is in Third World countries like Brazil, Indonesia, and Colombia that tropical rain forests are being lost at such alarming rates; while in Africa, India, and China, deserts are growing amid ever-worsening water shortages.

As income levels rise, people can afford to pay attention to the quality of their lives and the condition of their habitat.

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Growth Lowers Birth Rates

Economic growth can mitigate these resource and environmental pressures in the developing nations in two closely related ways: by reducing poverty, and by helping to stabilize population growth. Many global environmental problems result less from the activities of those supposed villains, the profit-hungry multinational corporations, than from the incremental, cumulative destruction of nature from the actions of many individuals—often the poor trying desperately to eke out a living. These actions range from the rural poor in Latin America clearing land for title, for cattle, or for subsistence farming; to gold miners, electroplaters, and small factories releasing toxic substances into the air and water; to farmers ruining fields and groundwater with excessive applications of pesticides.

In the developing nations especially, the population explosion of the past few decades (developing countries have more than doubled in population just since 1960) has greatly intensified the accumulating pressures on the environment. Even though the *rate* of increase is starting to fall in most of the Third World, population growth in countries such as Mexico, the Philippines, Kenya, Egypt, Indonesia, and Brazil has contributed and will continue to contribute to global degradation, to loss of natural resources, to poverty, and to hunger. Continued rapid population growth will cancel out environmental gains, and offset environmental investments.

One widely acceptable strategy that can make an important contribution to lowering fertility rates is education. The World Bank has drawn attention to the close correlation between education of children—specifically, bringing basic literacy to young girls—and reduction in the birth rate. Economic growth also offers hope for some relief. As countries grow economically, their fertility rates tend to decline; in most developed nations the birthrate has dropped below replacement levels, although it is creeping back up in some countries. Stable populations coupled with economic growth mean rising per capita standards of living. Education and economic development are the surest paths to stabilizing population growth.

A Walk on the Supply Side

The benefits of economic growth just described—higher expectations for environmental quality in the industrialized countries, and reduced resource demands and environmental pressures related to poverty and swelling populations in the developing nations—show up on the demand side of the prosperity/progress equation. But economic expansion contributes on the supply side as well—by generating the financial resources that make environmental improvements possible.

In the United States, for example, economic prosperity has contributed to substantial progress in environmental quality. The gains this country has made in reducing air and water pollution since 1970 are measurable, they are significant, and they are indisputable. In most major categories of air pollution, emissions on a national basis have either leveled off or declined since 1970. And the improvements are even more impressive when compared with where we would be without the controls established in the early 1970s.

Air emissions of particulates went down by 63 percent between 1970 and 1988; the EPA estimates that without controls particulate emissions would be 70 percent higher than current levels. Sulfur dioxide emissions are down 27 percent; without controls, they would be 42 percent higher than they are now. Nitrogen oxide, which is up about 7 percent from 1970 levels, would have increased by 28 percent without controls. Volatile organic chemicals are down 26 percent; without controls, they would be 42 percent higher than today's levels. Carbon monoxide is down 40 percent; without controls, it would be 57 percent higher than current levels. And without controls on lead, particularly the phase-in of unleaded gasoline, lead emissions to the air would be fully 97 percent higher than they are today. Instead, atmospheric lead is down 96 percent from 1970 levels.

Similar, although more localized, gains can be cited with respect to water pollution. In the Great Lakes, thanks to municipal sewage treatment programs, fecal coliform is down, nutrients are down, algae are down, biological oxygen demand is down. Twenty years ago pollution in Lake Erie decimated commercial fishing; now Lake Erie is the largest commercial fishery in the Great Lakes. The Potomac River in Washington, D.C., was so polluted that people who came into contact with it were advised to get an inoculation for tetanus. Now on a warm day the Potomac belongs to the windsurfers.

It cost the American taxpayers, consumers, and businessmen a great deal of money to realize these gains. The direct cost of compliance with federal environmental regulations is now estimated at more than $90 billion a year—about 1.7 percent of gross national product (GNP), the highest level among western industrial nations for which data are available. Yet the United States achieved its remarkable environmental progress during a period when GNP increased by more than 70 percent.

We can learn two important lessons from the U.S. experience of the past two decades. First, our environmental commitments were compatible with economic advancement; the United States is now growing in a qualitatively better, healthier way because we made those commitments. And second, it was not just good luck that substantial environmental progress occurred during a period of economic prosperity. Our healthy economy paid for our environmental gains; economic expansion created the capital to finance superior environmental performance.

Eco-Catastrophe in Eastern Europe

The contrast between the U.S. experience and that of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the past two decades is both stark and illuminating. While the United States prospered and made a start on cleaning up, Poland, Hungary, Romania, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union were undergoing an environmental catastrophe that will take many years and hundreds of billions of dollars to correct. In Eastern Europe, whole cities are blackened by thick dust. Chemicals make up a substantial percentage of river flows. Nearly two-thirds of the length of the Vistula, Poland's largest river, is unfit even for industrial use. The Oder

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River, which forms most of Poland's border with East Germany, is useless over 80 percent of its length. Parts of Poland, East Germany, and Romania are literally uninhabitable; zones of ecological disaster cover more than a quarter of Poland's land area. Millions of Soviets live in cities with dangerously polluted air. Military gas masks were issued in 1988 to thousands of Ukrainians to protect them from toxic emissions from a meat-processing plant.

The Soviet Union and its former satellites are plagued by premature deaths, high infant mortality rates, chronic lung disorders and other disabling illnesses, and worker absenteeism. The economic drain from these environmental burdens, in terms of disability benefits, health care, and lost productivity is enormous—15 percent or more of GNP, according to one Eastern European minister with whom I spoke.

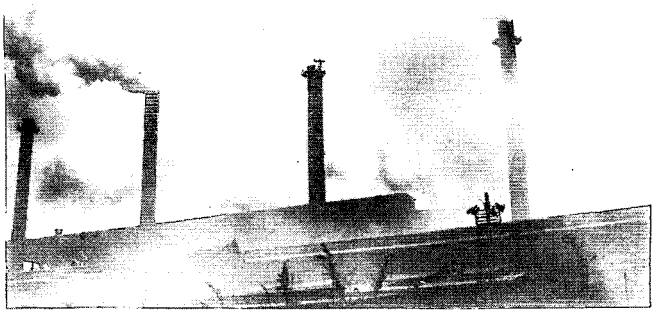
The lifting of the Iron Curtain has revealed to the world that authoritarian, centrally planned societies pose much greater threats to the environment than capitalist democracies. Many environmental principles were undefendable in the absence of private property: Both the factory and the nearby farmland contaminated by its pollution were the property of the state. And the state, without elections, was not subject to popular restraints or reform. Equally important, decisions to forgo environmental controls altogether, in order to foster all-out, no-holds-barred economic development, now can be seen to have done nothing for the economy. The same policies that ravaged the environment also wrecked the economy. There is a good reason that no economic benefits have been identified from all the pollution control costs these nations avoided: Healthy natural systems are a *sine qua non* for all human activity, including economic activity.

What has happened in the United States and Eastern Europe is convincing evidence that in the modern industrial world prosperity is essential for environmental progress. Sustainable economic growth can and must be the engine of environmental improvement; it must pay for the technologies of protection and cleanup.

Cleaner Technologies

The development of cleaner, more environmentally benign technologies clearly makes up a central element in the transition to sustainable patterns of growth. Technology, like growth, can be a mixed blessing. Technological progress has given many of the Earth's people longer, healthier lives, greater mobility, and higher living standards than most would have thought possible just a century ago. Technology has alerted us to environmental concerns such as stratospheric ozone depletion and the buildup of "greenhouse" gases in the atmosphere.

But the adverse consequences to the environment from new technology, while neither intended nor anticipated, have also been significant. Twentieth-century industrial and transportation technologies, heavily dependent on fossil fuels for their energy and on nonrenewable mineral and other resources for raw materials, have contributed substantially to today's environmental disruptions. So, too, has the widespread use of certain substances—asbestos, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs),



UPI/Bettmann

Factories in Czechoslovakia: Centrally planned economies pose much greater threats to the environment than capitalist democracies.

PCBs, a number of synthetic organic chemicals—which have proved to be hazardous to human health or the environment, or both.

But if technological development has caused many of the environmental ills of the past and present, it also has a vital role to play in their cure. This "paradox of technology," as Massachusetts Institute of Technology President Paul Gray calls it, is increasingly accepted by environmentalists and technocrats alike. In fact, some environmentalists and legislators are more inclined to invest faith in technology even than are the captains of industry. Gus Speth, a co-founder of the Natural Resources Defense Council and now president of World Resources Institute, has called for a "new Industrial Revolution" in which "green" technologies are adopted that "facilitate economic growth while sharply reducing the pressures on the natural environment."

I share this enthusiasm for the promise of technology, especially after observing firsthand the truly encouraging results of bioremediation in cleaning up Alaska's Prince William Sound after the Exxon *Valdez* oil spill. When I first saw the full scale of that disaster, my initial thought was: Where are the exotic new technologies, the products of genetic engineering, that can help us clean this up? It was immediately clear that conventional oil spill response technology was overwhelmed.

Not long after the spill, EPA's research and development staff brought together 30 or so scientists to develop a program of bioremediation. This program does not involve any genetically engineered organisms—just applications of nutrients to feed and accelerate the creation of naturally occurring, oil-eating microbes.

Having been to Alaska several times to check on the progress of the cleanup, I've seen what bioremediation can do to minimize the effects of a massive crude oil spill—especially below the surface of the shoreline. Those areas of shoreline that were treated only by washing or scrubbing still have unacceptably high levels of subsurface oil contamination—much higher than the areas treated with nutrients. The success of bioremediation is, in fact, virtually the only good news to result from that tragic oil spill.

Biotechnology also has great potential for many other environmental applications: Last February, I urged biotechnology companies to give a high priority to locat-

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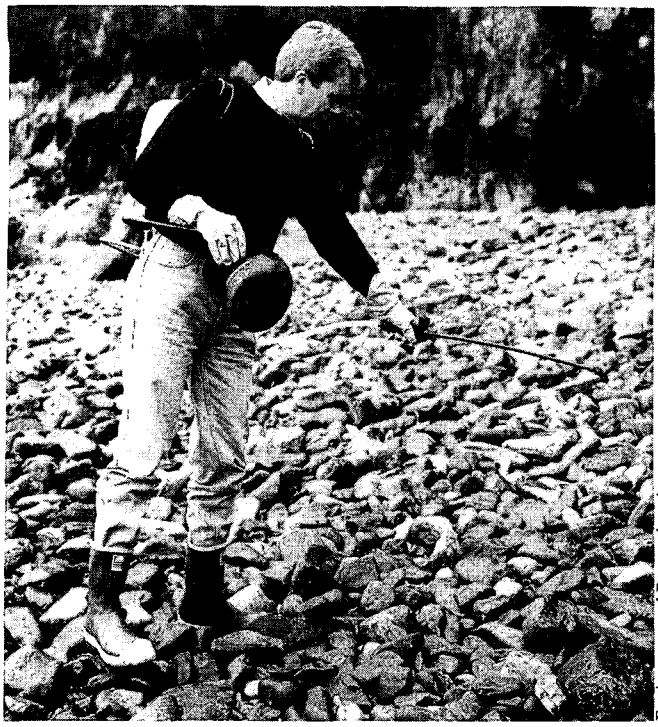

Environmental Protection Agency

William K. Reilly at Alaska's Prince William Sound: "My enthusiasm for technology was confirmed by the encouraging results of bioremediation after the Exxon *Valdez* spill."

ing and developing microorganisms that can safely and inexpensively neutralize harmful chemicals at hazardous waste sites, as well as other pollutants in the air and water.

Other technologies, such as space satellites and sensors, increasingly sophisticated environmental monitoring and modeling capabilities, will give us the information base we need to respond appropriately to global atmospheric changes. The recent international agreement to phase-out ozone-depleting CFCs before the end of this century was greatly facilitated by scientific studies of the Antarctic ozone hole and the rapid development of safe substitutes for CFCs. And continued advancements in medical technology and in our understanding of the role of environmental factors in human health will continue to enhance human life expectancy and freedom from disease.

Commuting by Computer

President Bush recently called attention to the environmental and social benefits of a technological advance known as "telecommuting": working from home or a neighborhood center close to home, sending messages and papers back and forth via fax or computer. By giving Americans an attractive alternative to driving, telecommuting helps reduce harmful auto emissions, from smog precursors to carbon dioxide. It also saves energy, relieves traffic congestion, and according to some studies, can even increase productivity by 20 percent or more.

As a fan of face-to-face communication, who believes also that creativity is often stimulated by the chance encounter, I must confess to a bit of skepticism about some of the virtues attributed to telecommuting. But environmentally and economically, it has incontestable appeal. And as congestion grows in many American cities, the appeal of telecommuting will also increase. Recognizing this, the federal government and several states have tried telecommuting in pilot projects; the EPA is among the federal agencies testing the concept at selected locations.

Many other environmentally beneficial technologies are changing for the better the way humans interact with the environment. Miniaturization, fiber optics, and new materials are easing the demand for natural resources. As older plants and equipment wear out, they are replaced by more efficient, less polluting capital stock. The evolution of energy will continue with clean coal technologies and with the commercialization of economically competitive, non-polluting, renewable energy technologies such as photovoltaic solar cells. New self-enclosed industrial processes will prevent toxic substances such as lead and cadmium, which are almost impossible to dispose of safely, from entering the ambient environment. The wise manufacturer is already asking new questions about products—not just how will the product be used, but how will it be disposed, and with what effects?

A Resource Saved Is a Resource Earned

Corporations such as Dow, 3M, Monsanto, Du Pont, Hewlett-Packard, Pratt & Whitney, Union Carbide, and others have curtailed emissions and saved resources through a wide variety of successful pollution-prevention techniques. Dow's Louisiana division, for example, recently designed and installed a vent recovery system to recapture hydrocarbon vapors that were being released as liquid hydrocarbons were loaded into barges. The new system recovers 98 percent of the vaporized hydrocarbons, abating hydrocarbon emissions to the atmosphere by more than 100,000 pounds a year.

As environmentalists have been pointing out for years, a pollutant is simply a resource out of place. By taking advantage of opportunities for pollution prevention, companies not only can protect the environment, they can save resources and thus enhance productivity and U.S. competitiveness in an increasingly demanding international market.

Accordingly, the EPA has made the encouragement of pollution prevention one of its leading priorities. At the same time, the administration is pursuing an innovative regulatory approach that builds on traditional command-and-control programs with economic incentives to harness the dynamics of the marketplace on behalf of the environment. By engaging the market in environmental protection, we can send the kind of signals to the economy that will encourage cleaner industrial processes and the wise stewardship of natural resources. The Department of Energy is involved as well; DOE is placing heavy emphasis on increasing energy efficiency and the commercialization of renewable energy technologies.

These governmental efforts are badly needed because the development of environmentally and economically beneficial new technology has been slowed by the high cost of capital in the United States—a direct consequence of the immense federal budget deficit. The

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deficit drives up interest rates, slows the pace of economic expansion, and discourages modernization and other environmentally friendly investments. While there are many reasons to bring the federal deficit under control, the need to free capital for environmental investments is certainly an important one.

Deficit spending is, unfortunately, not the only government policy inhibiting environmental improvement. A wide range of regulatory requirements and subsidies, in the United States and in many other countries, lead to market distortions that encourage inefficiencies while promoting the unsustainable use of timber, water, cropland, and other resources. The Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment (FREE), a free-market think tank based in Seattle, Washington, and Bozeman, Montana, has done pioneering work in the field of "New Resource Economics"; FREE argues that hundreds of millions of dollars could be saved and much environmental damage avoided every year by discontinuing subsidized clear-cutting in national forests and by curtailing heavily subsidized water development projects. For similar reasons, the Reagan administration opposed development on coastal barrier islands, which required heavy subsidies for bridges, flood insurance, and seawalls, and also exposed taxpayers to the costs of disaster relief when the inevitable hurricanes devastated the fragile handiwork of human beings.

Accounting for Pollution

One important step toward achieving greater harmony between economic and environmental policies would be for the government to consider seriously some long-overdue changes in the way the nation's economic health and prosperity are evaluated. As environmentalists and economists at think tanks like Resources for the Future have been pointing out for years, traditional economic accounting systems such as GNP and NNP (net national product) are poor measures of overall national well-being. They ignore or undervalue many nonmarket factors that add immeasurably to our quality of life: clean air and water, unspoiled natural landscapes, wilderness, wildlife in its natural setting. President Bush's Clean Air Act proposals for curtailing sulfur dioxide emissions, which are precursors of acid rain, will significantly improve visibility in the northeastern United States. People literally will be able to see farther. But we have not yet found a way to put a price tag on a scenic vista.

At the same time, GNP and NNP fail to discount from national income accounts the environmental costs of production and disposal, or the depletion of valuable natural capital such as lost cropland and degraded wetlands. The Exxon *Valdez* oil spill, a terrible environmental disaster, shows up as a *gain* in GNP because of all the goods and services expended in the clean-up. Without a realistic measure of national welfare, it is difficult to pursue policies that promote healthy, sustainable growth—growth that draws on the interest on stocks of renewable natural capital—in place of policies that contribute to the depletion of the capital itself.

The effort to develop a more comprehensive measure of national welfare should be just one part of an overall national strategy to achieve environmentally sound, sustainable economic growth. Such a strategy should be based on two fundamental premises:

First, economic growth confers many benefits, environmental and otherwise. Growth provides jobs, economic stability, and the opportunity for environmental and social progress. Only through economic growth can the people of the world, and especially the poor and hungry, realize their legitimate aspirations for security and economic betterment. And second, not all growth is "good" growth. What the world needs is healthy, sustainable, "green" growth: growth informed by the insights of ecology and wise natural resource management, growth guided by what President Bush refers to as an ethic of "global stewardship."

At the recent White House conference on global climate change, the president said, "Strong economies allow nations to fulfill the obligations of stewardship. And environmental stewardship is crucial to sustaining strong economies....True global stewardship will be achieved...through more informed, more efficient, and cleaner growth."

A "Good Growth" Strategy

Good growth means greater emphasis on conservation, greater efficiency in resource use, and greater use of renewables and recycling. Good growth unifies environmental, social, and economic concerns, and stresses the responsibility of all individuals to sustain a healthy relationship with nature.

Good growth enhances productivity and international competitiveness and makes possible a rising standard of living for everyone, without damaging the environment. It encourages broader, more integrated, longer-term policy-making. It anticipates environmental problems rather than reacting to the crisis of the moment.

Good growth recognizes that increased production and consumption are not ends in themselves, but means to an end—the end being healthier, more secure, more humane, and more fulfilling lives for all humanity. Good growth is about more than simply refraining from inflicting harm on natural systems. It has an ethical, even spiritual dimension. Having more, using more, does not in the final scheme of things equate to being more.

Economic expansion provided the resources for America's recent environmental gains—such as the return of fish to Lake Erie.

Good growth can illuminate the path to a sustainable society—a society in which we fulfill our ethical obligations to be good stewards of the planet and responsible trustees of our legacy to future generations.

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Taking Back the Streets

Police Methods That Work

Edwin Meese III and Bob Carrico

A number of American police departments are conducting bold experiments in the way they fight crime. They are led by a new breed of police chiefs, who argue that crime is not just a police matter but a question of human relations, and that understanding people and communities is just as important for effective police work as knowing how to use a gun or a computer.

For several decades police work has concentrated on reacting to crimes already committed—on rapid response to calls for service and the investigation of crimes after they happen. Today, the emphasis of police work is expanding from the crime lab and the squad car to include foot patrol and the strengthening of communities. The new strategies are usually encompassed within the broad term "community policing." Within this concept several substrategies can be distinguished, although they tend to blur together. They are often described as "neighborhood-oriented policing," "problem-solving policing," and "strategic policing."

The basic idea behind neighborhood-oriented policing is that local communities are the first line of defense against crime. They are the most useful source of information about criminals and patterns of crime, as well as about how criminal activity might be fought. Neighborhood-oriented policing encourages close contacts between police officers and individual citizens, both to obtain information and to build on a community's natural defenses. If a teen-ager is getting involved in gang violence, an officer's greatest resource can be a supportive and caring family. And by helping to organize programs such as Neighborhood Watch, police can strengthen the community's ability to resist burglary and theft.

Maintaining Public Order

Problem-solving policing focuses on a function of police work that has often been neglected in recent years: maintaining public order. A major responsibility of police forces in the 19th and much of the 20th century was to uphold certain norms of public behavior—keeping panhandlers, vagrants, street toughs, and other disorderly elements from disrupting public order. This traditional activity has been given less attention in recent decades, as foot patrols gave way to squad cars and high-technology crime-fighting.

However, in an influential 1982 article in *The Atlantic*, entitled "Broken Windows," James Q. Wilson and George Kelling pointed out that the breakdown of public order can lead in turn to violent crime. A broken, unfixed window signals that no one cares about a building; soon all its windows will be smashed. Similarly, allowing panhandlers, drunks, and prostitutes to proliferate freely in an area conveys the message that no one is maintaining order, and that citizens may be annoyed or intimidated with impunity. Soon panhandling may escalate into mugging and other forms of violent crime.

Wilson and Kelling suggested that the police take measures to maintain minimum standards of public orderliness and thus prevent the first "broken window" in communities susceptible to violent crime. In addition to their own patrol activity, police could involve other city departments in attacking signs of "abandonment" in a neighborhood—litter, vacant buildings, and utility problems. Police officers can also draw upon other community resources to deal with problems related to crime, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, or marital violence.

Learning Citizens' Fears

Closer to traditional police methods, but still requiring new techniques and close knowledge of a community, is strategic policing. This method involves learning the patterns of crime in an area, and deploying police resources directly to combat them. Examples might include an officer recognizing a pattern of backdoor entries by burglars and then patrolling the rear of houses in the area, or simply making police patrol more prominent in order to scare off potential felons. Foot patrol can be of particular use in strategic policing, as it is visible to those "on the street" and gives officers greater flexibility in contending with specific crime problems.

Community policing methods aim not only to reduce

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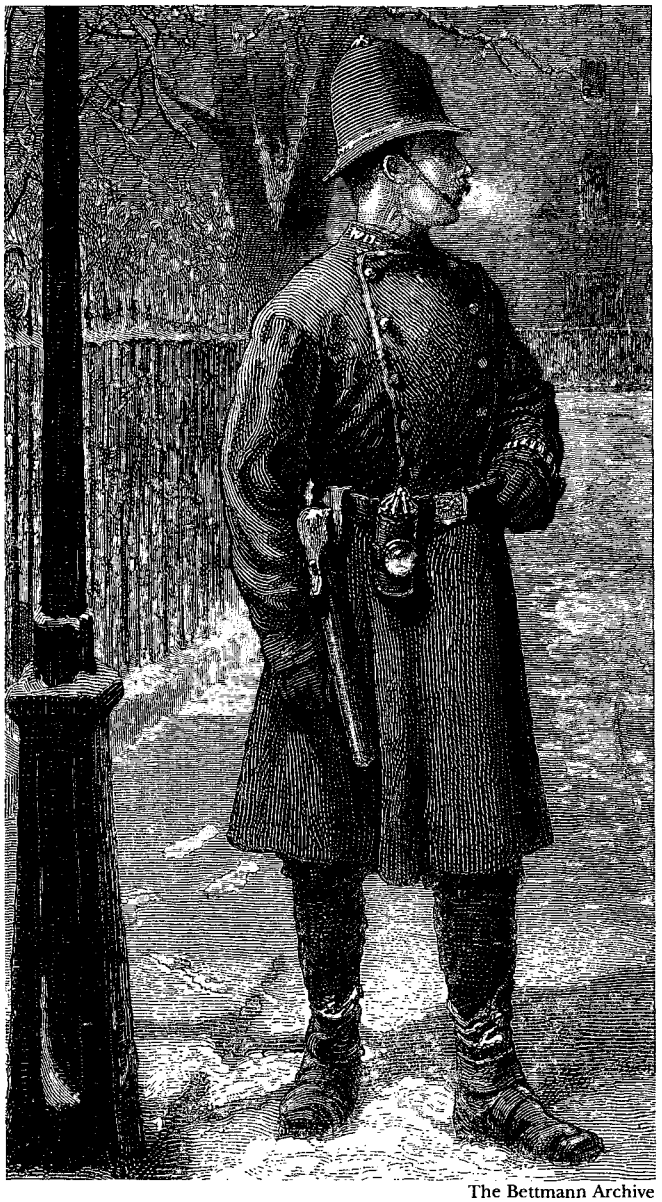
crime but to ask citizens what will make them feel more secure in their homes and neighborhoods. The perception of danger from criminal activity is often greater than the actual risk of becoming a crime victim. Surveys cited by Wilson and Kelling show, for instance, that citizens of one community identified a corner where unruly teen-agers gathered at night as the most dangerous part of the neighborhood—even though not one crime had been reported there. Fear of crime can force citizens to hide behind locked doors rather than venture out; it can drive individuals and businesses away from a neighborhood; it can destroy the social and economic fabric of communities.

Rapid-response policing, with squad cars appearing only after crimes have occurred, doesn't give citizens an opportunity to express their security concerns. By contrast, regular personal contact with officers gives people a chance to make their fears known. The sight of a familiar officer coming down the street on foot inspires greater confidence than does an impersonal squad car cruising by. Problem-oriented policing, with its emphasis on public order, is well-suited to relieving citizen distress.

Over the past decade community policing and related policing innovations have been tried in many communities across the United States. Early experiments were conducted in Baltimore County, Maryland; Newark, New Jersey; Newport News, Virginia; and Madison, Wisconsin. Five cities that have had particular success with this strategy are Flint, Michigan; Houston, Texas; Charleston, South Carolina; Los Angeles, California; and Aurora, Colorado. As cities with wide variance in size, geographic location, police resources, and crime problems, they illustrate the flexibility of community policing methods.



The Bettmann Archive

The sight of a familiar officer coming down the street on foot inspires greater confidence than does an impersonal squad car cruising by.

On Foot in Flint

One of the earliest and most innovative experiments in community policing was carried out in Flint, Michigan, a racially diverse city of 142,000, whose economy has been hit hard by the shakeup in the auto industry. The 300-member police department instituted a foot-patrol program that has served as a model for many later community policing efforts.

The initial impetus behind the program came from Mayor Jim Rutherford and Police Chief Max Durbin, who obtained a grant from the Mott Foundation, a local philanthropic organization, to fund the first three years of the foot-patrol program. From the beginning, however, there was a strong effort to prevent the program from being something imposed from outside the community. Public meetings about the patrol program began in November 1977 and went on for several months. The first foot-patrol officers hit the streets in 1979, patrolling two shifts a day in 14 experimental areas around the city.

The patrol program emphasized ensuring citizen access to the police. Patrollers maintained offices in their patrol areas; a highly popular feature was the answering machine that each officer had in his office to record incoming calls when the officer was out on patrol. Stickers were printed with the local officer's name and telephone number on them; the officer passed out these stickers to every house in his neighborhood to ensure that all citizens would be able to contact him. Patrol officers regularly attended meetings of community organizations to listen to citizens' concerns, and visited citizens at home to warn them about criminal activity in their neighborhoods, such as the construction frauds that often preyed on senior citizens.

The Flint program also aimed at defusing tensions that might lead to crime. Patrol officers were encouraged to refer citizens to various agencies dealing with marital and juvenile problems, drug and alcohol abuse, and other social ills. The idea was to catch and deal with minor problems before they became major crises: for example, to prevent a teen-age vandal from becoming an adult burglar, or to keep a squabbling couple from

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Meredith Bishop

Officer Anthony Demaris at the "Lower Westheimer Kops Shop." Houston's police operate 19 storefronts for walk-in traffic, to encourage citizens to talk to police.

assaulting or killing each other.

Over the first three years of the foot-patrol program, crime rates in the foot-patrol areas fell over 8 percent, while crime rates in the rest of Flint were rising by 10 percent. While "on view" or "spot" arrests—arrests made by an officer at the actual scene of a crime—decreased among those assigned to foot patrol, arrests made under previously issued warrants increased, because of the foot-patrol officers' better knowledge of the neighborhoods and their inhabitants. The criminal justice system became more flexible under an arrangement worked out with the district courts; an officer could allow minor offenders with a known, stable residence to delay their court dates for up to two weeks—thus making them more likely to show up for their court appearance.

Perhaps more important, however, were the effects of the program on the citizens' relationship with the police. Enormous popular demand caused the expansion of the original 14 foot beats; local organizations even helped defray the increased costs. When the Mott Foundation grant ran out in 1982, the citizenry of Flint voted a $3.5 million tax increase to continue the program. Two further increases were later voted, one of them by a 2-to-1 margin.

Budgetary Setback

By the mid-1980s, Flint's foot-patrol program was threatened by the constraints of the city budget. Severe economic difficulties cut deeply into city revenues, even as the appearance of crack cocaine greatly increased the amount of violent crime faced by the police department. The department found its resources for rapid response to calls for assistance stretched to the limits. "They were taking 20 minutes to respond to calls about a man with a gun," commented Robert Trojanowicz of the National Center for Community Policing at Michigan State University. Lt. Robert McFadden, a long-time foot-patrol veteran, tells of officers responding to as many as seven calls in a row about firearms incidents.

Consequently, the foot-patrol program came under increased scrutiny. In 1987 a Washington, D.C.-based consulting firm concluded that foot patrol was consuming resources better devoted to rapid response and therefore recommended that the program be allowed to expire in 1988. Despite the continuing high popularity of the foot-patrol program, the consultant's recommendations were followed.

Community policing is not entirely dead in Flint, however. Motorized patrol officers are encouraged to park their patrol cars and get out to talk with citizens. Officers still attend meetings of community groups and the referral program to other social services continues to function. Still, lately there have been no foot-beat officers walking the streets, no answering machines, and little of the "personal contact" and privacy of communication to which Lt. McFadden attributes the foot-patrol program's popularity.

Today, there is new hope for the return of foot patrol to Flint, albeit on a smaller scale and as part of a wider effort. The state of Michigan has recently initiated a pilot community policing program known as "Community Officers Patrolling Streets" (COPS). Intended to fight the crack cocaine trade in Michigan, the COPS program seeks to integrate police officers more thoroughly into the community life of 30 threatened neighborhoods distributed across 17 Michigan cities, including Flint. The program is decentralized, allowing different strategies to be used in different areas and leaving a great deal of leeway for local authorities. Methods suggested include police mini-stations and the posting of officers in housing projects and schools. In Flint, three areas are scheduled to begin foot patrol under the COPS program this fall.

Turnaround in Houston

Houston originally presented an unpromising atmosphere for community policing. By the early 1980s the police department of this 1.7-million-person city had developed what the *Houston Post* called "a nationwide reputation for racism, brutality, and shooting first and asking questions later." The 4,000-member Houston Police Department (HPD) was second in the nation for complaints about civil-rights violations. The department went through five chiefs in the eight years prior to 1982. Between 1978 and 1982, according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, major crime in Houston skyrocketed 71 percent.

The new emphasis of police work is expanding from the crime lab and the squad car to include foot patrol and the strengthening of communities.

Into this atmosphere stepped an unlikely chief of

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police. With a Ph.D. in criminology from the University of California at Berkeley, Lee Brown previously had been a patrolman in San Jose, sheriff of Multnomah County, Oregon, as well as a professor at Portland State University and associate director of Howard University's Institution for Urban Affairs. When he was chosen by Houston Mayor Kathy Whitmire to head the HPD in 1981, Brown had just finished heading the Atlanta police during the investigation of the Wayne Williams serial murder case.

Brown was an outsider in a closely knit, clannish department; a black in a department with no other black officer higher than sergeant. A reserved man, perhaps even shy, Brown's favorite book was *In Search of Excellence*, the well-known work about innovation in American business. Few expected Brown to survive the HPD, much less transform it. Yet his retiring nature hid an infectious enthusiasm for ideas that would help to convert many in Houston to his way of thinking about policing. Brown also possessed a burning indignation against criminals. He once disrupted a busy day's schedule by leaping from his car to personally arrest a man he saw smoking marijuana.

"Natural Neighborhoods"

Brown set out to fundamentally change the way in which the HPD fought crime. As the *Houston Post* put it, his goal was "shifting the emphasis of the police department from reacting to crime to preventing crime. The key to that...is getting more police on the streets and getting citizens more involved in fighting crime." Brown did indeed get more police on the streets, shifting 490 officers to the department's patrol division. More important, however, were the ways in which he changed the HPD's methods of patrol to use those officers more efficiently, to increase police presence in the community, and thus to reduce the fear of crime.

Brown reorganized Houston's patrol beats, making them conform more closely to the "natural neighborhoods" of the city. Officers were assigned to their beats on a more permanent basis. They were encouraged to make contacts with residents and businesses on their beats, asking if there were any problems that needed attention in the area and leaving their business card to facilitate further contact. There were other changes in patrol methods as well. Following the lead of many major cities, Houston established a mounted patrol, on the theory that officers on horseback increase police visibility and expand their crime prevention and order maintenance capability.

Another method used by the HPD to increase citizen–police contact was the establishment of "storefront stations"—small police stations, staffed by a few officers, in places where citizens live and work. The HPD's first storefront opened in 1983; by 1990 there were 19 such storefront posts, distributed across a wide range of locales—residential areas, housing projects, shopping malls. The storefronts were designed for walk-in traffic, giving people a place to come in and talk directly to the police. They were also used as local patrol bases and for programs such as a child fingerprinting project and a community newsletter. The storefront police officers were integrated as closely as possible into the surrounding community. Several of the officers posted at these stations in Houston's housing projects had grown up in those projects. Community acceptance of the mini-stations began slowly, probably due to previous public mistrust of the police. But, as Sergeant D. V. Williams put it, "Once they saw there were *people* here rather than the Gestapo, they opened up." Within the first year of operation, sizable burglary operations and stolen property fencing rings had been broken up, thanks to contacts made at the storefronts.

UPI/Bettmann

Lee Brown expanded Houston's foot patrols to reduce public fears and to get citizens more involved in fighting crime.

As with Flint, Houston's community policing efforts had some positive effects on statistical indicators of crime; crime rates dropped in the early 1980s, reversing their meteoric rise during the previous few years. Also as in Flint, most important was the change in police–community relations and public satisfaction with the police. When Brown took over as chief, local newspaper polls showed only one-third of the Houston public thought the police department was doing a good job; by 1984 half of the public thought so. The proportion of people rating the department as poor had dropped from one-fifth to one-tenth. This increased popularity of the police cut across ethnic and income divisions. A controlled study by the Washington, D.C.-based Police Foundation found a reduction in the fear of crime and a greater satisfaction with the police in those areas where the HPD's community policing methods were being tested.

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Brad Nettles/*Charleston News & Courier-Evening Post*

Crime has fallen 42 percent in Charleston since Reuben Greenberg (left) took over as chief of police eight years ago.

Chief Lee Brown is no longer with the HPD. Earlier this year, he accepted an offer to try his hand at a larger problem. Currently Brown is overseeing the development of community policing as police commissioner of New York City. He is also beginning his term as president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Charleston's Unlikely Savior

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* once described Reuben Greenberg as "an unlikely savior." The description fits—both halves of it. Greenberg, chief of police in Charleston, South Carolina, has ticketed himself for reckless driving, used officers' running speed as a criterion for assignments, and even made an arrest while rollerskating, one of his favorite recreational activities. Greenberg is 47 years old, black, raised on the wrong side of the tracks in Houston. He is the grandson of a Ukrainian Jew and himself a convert to Judaism, a former liberal now famous for statements such as these (to the *Washington Times*): "What does racism or the fact that someone didn't have a hot lunch or that his father left when he was a child have to do with stealing a bottle of wine off a store shelf? Criminals understand the rules of society very clearly, but exempt themselves from following those rules."

Greenberg's tough words go along with a genuine concern for the urban poor who live in violent inner-city environments. Combining community and strategic policing with a sizable dose of old-fashioned toughness on criminals, his methods have reduced crime in the 80,000-person city by 42 percent during the eight years of his tenure. And the areas most affected by that decrease have been Charleston's housing projects and other depressed areas, where the city's poorest residents live and work.

Greenberg's beliefs about policing date to his student days at San Francisco State University, when he was active in the civil-rights movement. During several picketing demonstrations in which he took part Greenberg often came into contact with police officers. "I decided that the people didn't understand the cops and the cops didn't understand the people," he says.

Like Lee Brown of Houston, Greenberg attended graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley. Unlike Brown, he did not study criminology, but emerged instead with master's degrees in city planning and public administration. Greenberg's roots are in social science; he taught for several years at California State University-Hayward and the University of North Carolina, and hopes to return to academia in the future. However, while at California State, Greenberg decided to try out some of his theories in practice. After stints as a human relations officer and a probation officer, he joined the San Francisco police department.

Greenberg's years as a parole officer, and his experience in California, Georgia, and Florida law enforcement, shaped his approach to crime. "Eighty percent of all crimes are committed by 20 percent of the criminals," he says. "I changed my position on the death penalty after a case in which a convicted killer, serving life imprisonment without parole, killed again." The only way to fight crime, Greenberg came to believe, was to get the criminals out of the community entirely.

When Greenberg arrived in Charleston in 1982, public order in the city was beginning to decline. Drug dealing and associated violence were spreading through the city, particularly in Charleston's sizable public-housing projects. Furthermore, Greenberg told *Newsweek* that the 250-member Charleston Police Department (CPD) "had written off whole sections of town to the criminal element." Greenberg opposed this tendency, feeling strongly that the right to a crime-free life should be guaranteed to all citizens, including the poor and those residing in housing projects.

Greenberg named his anti-crime program "Take Back the Streets." It sought to use police presence in the community to squeeze criminals out—leaving them no nook or cranny in Charleston from which to operate. Greenberg formed a "flying squad" to act as a "second police department," preventing crime rather than just responding to crimes already committed.

Much of Greenberg's effort was focused on the housing projects. Working with housing authorities, he began to systematically throw criminals out of the projects. Laws allowing the eviction of tenants for illegal behavior were rigorously enforced; new tenants were screened for clean criminal records before being admitted. As the chief told us, "No other landlord has to rent to child molesters, robbers, rapists, and arsonists. Why should people in public housing have to live with them?"

Throughout Charleston, flying squad officers monitored ex-convicts who lived in the community, "telling them very candidly to watch out," as Police Captain Glen Youngblood described it. The ex-felons were warned that they would be suspects in any crimes in the neighborhood. Former shoplifters were pointed out to the store owners, and ex-convicts in a supermarket line were identified to fellow customers.

"Know the People"

Greenberg worked to establish a highly visible police presence in the community, and to increase communication between officers and citizens. Four mini-stations were established, two of them in the housing projects.

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Greenberg expanded Charleston's foot-patrol program, which had been formerly limited to densely populated downtown business districts, to include poorer areas of Charleston, including the projects. He also worked to develop enthusiasm about foot patrol in the department. Foot patrol had been seen as a rather unattractive duty, primarily carried out by older officers. Greenberg put younger officers into the foot-beat program, emphasizing the opportunity it gave them to become involved in the communities they patrolled and to make a difference in the life of their city. The dress shoes previously worn by CPD officers were exchanged for running shoes.

Foot-patrol officers were encouraged to "know the people, know their families, know their problems, and know solutions to those problems," said Captain Youngblood. They were encouraged to make their own names well-known to the public as well; residents with information on crimes "won't tell a police officer, but they'll tell Jimmy," said Greenberg to the *Times-Picayune*.

To fight the city's drug and vice problems, Greenberg recognized that "most criminal activities are essentially illegal commercial activities." Accordingly, the CPD set out to make it impossible to carry on those types of business. Greenberg attacked the city's open-air drug markets by stationing flying squad officers on corners in the city where drugs were bought and sold, and had them engage suspected narcotics dealers in conversation. Photographs were taken of the people who approached these drug dealers. The goal was not so much to make arrests as to disrupt the connection between buyer and seller. Drug dealers "don't want to move more than a block away," Greenberg commented. "Their customers don't know where they are." Other sorts of illegal "business" were similarly attacked at their roots. As Chief Greenberg explained to us, "Criminals exist where they are tolerated. When the community refuses to accept criminality and supports and works with the police, crime can be reduced."

The success of Greenberg's programs has been impressive. The last murder in a Charleston housing project was in 1985; there were only 18 arrests for selling drugs in all of 1989. The 42 percent decrease in crime was accompanied by a drop in the use of force by police; only one CPD officer has fired a shot in eight years and complaints about excessive use of force are rare.

Critics charge that Greenberg's programs merely force criminals out of the city into the suburbs, without reducing total crime. Whether this is true is questionable; crime has increased in nearby North Charleston, but by less than half as much as crime in Charleston has decreased. Furthermore, Greenberg tries to keep convicted criminals totally out of circulation for as long as possible, completely removing such potential repeat offenders from society. The CPD regularly sends officers and victims to testify against criminals' release at parole hearings, usually with success.

But in any case, Greenberg doesn't believe he should slacken his efforts to defend Charleston against crime simply because of the possible effect on other places. Instead, he asks why police in the suburbs don't use his methods, too.

Currently Greenberg's ideas are gaining widespread respect in the police community. He is greatly in demand as a speaker and consultant, advising departments as far away as Israel and Pakistan. Earlier this year the CPD lent him to Mobile, Alabama, for a six-month stint as that city's "crime czar"; the temporary transfer was highly successful.

No Exit in Los Angeles

The 7,500-member Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) is one of the best in the world, according to leaders in the law enforcement profession. "Without question, Chief Gates and his department are held in the highest esteem," stated Gerald Vaughn, former executive director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The LAPD polices a sprawling city of over three million inhabitants ranging the spectrum of ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Working among a highly transient population, officers must deal with major drug and gang problems. In facing these difficulties the department has gained a reputation for high-quality and innovative police work.

Police efforts to work with the community have a long history in Los Angeles. William Parker, chief of the LAPD from 1950 to 1966, and an outstanding police executive, established one of the first police–community relations programs in the United States. The present chief, Daryl F. Gates, is widely seen as Chief Parker's intellectual heir; he served for many years in several positions on Parker's executive staff.

"No other landlord has to rent to child molesters, robbers, rapists, and arsonists. Why should people in public housing have to live with them?"

—Reuben Greenberg

Under Gates, the LAPD has initiated various programs attacking crime from a community policing standpoint. Examples have included the Jeopardy Program, in which officers visit the parents of teen-agers involved in gang activity; the widely emulated DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) program, where officers teach classes in the schools to prevent drug abuse; and a recent foot-patrol program called "Secured Areas Footbeat Enforcement" (SAFE). Having officers walk their beats in some of the toughest drug- and gang-infested areas of the city, the SAFE program was popular in some of the poorer areas of the city. But the initial version of this program had to be discontinued because of budgetary problems.

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In late 1989, the LAPD launched an innovative new effort in strategic policing called "Operation Cul-de-sac." The program was inspired by the observation that gang members and drug dealers disliked cul-de-sacs, because such areas limited possible routes of escape. Chief Gates reasoned that it might be possible to reduce crime by creating artificial cul-de-sacs, blocking off street entrances and exits with barriers.

As it was conceived, Operation Cul-de-sac used multiple approaches. High-crime neighborhoods in the city would be targeted and barriers set up to form cul-de-sacs. The barriers would be manned by LAPD officers. A normal flow of people into and out of the blockaded area would be maintained; there would be no random stops or ID checks—but officers would stop and interrogate suspicious characters when there was the legal basis to do so. Foot patrols would be maintained within the blockaded areas. The formation and strengthening of local Neighborhood Watch groups and other organizations would be encouraged.

The goal of Operation Cul-de-sac was not primarily to arrest criminals, but to deter them. Department documents described the program as a "systematic deployment of personnel at strategic points to dissuade the criminal element from completing a crime." Most of the cul-de-sacs were not meant to be permanent; ultimately the success of the program rested on the ability of the community to develop its own defenses against crime. Cul-de-sac project officer Sergeant Len Hundshamer stated that the program was meant to fight the "siege mentality" of the areas, the feeling that "you have to look the other way unless it happens in your own living room." The LAPD hoped that giving the residents of a neighborhood a respite from criminal depredations would "get the community back into the sense that they can have that impact" against crime.

High School Attendance Up

The first barricades went up in November 1989 around Columbus Street in Sepulveda, one of the worst areas for drug trafficking in the entire San Fernando Valley, and in Panorama City. Another Sepulveda area, near Orion Avenue, was barricaded in January 1990. In late February, blockades were erected in Newton, one of the most violent neighborhoods in Los Angeles, the location of 100 of Los Angeles' 873 murders in 1989.

In all blockaded areas a sharp decrease in crime was recorded. The Columbus Street area recorded a 36 percent drop in crime over the first two months of the program. The Orion Avenue cul-de-sac recorded an estimated 30 percent drop, and crime in the Newton area dropped by 13 percent by July. In the first months of the program there was some concern that Operation Cul-de-sac might merely be pushing crime to nearby neighborhoods; a second Sepulveda area was barricaded in response to such fears. Intensified police patrol in areas surrounding the barricades helped deal with such concerns, and crime in the areas surrounding the Newton barricades dropped in the first weeks of the program, later rising slightly. "Once drug dealers are chased out of an area, they're out in the open, so they're easier to catch," Captain Mark Stevens told the *Los Angeles Times.*

The barricades helped deal with the fear of crime as well. Citizen support was strong from the beginning; of 560 people surveyed by the LAPD before the Newton barricades were erected, 558 supported the program. "Just overnight, it seems like there's less people hanging out in front of buildings," stated one Sepulveda area resident to the *Los Angeles Daily News.* An unexpected benefit of the Newton blockade was that attendance at the local Jefferson High School jumped. Principal Phil Saldivar estimated that 150 to 200 students who had previously been afraid to attend school came back to classes, including some students who had been absent for months. Subsequently, the LAPD began a program targeting another high school in a high-crime area as the location for extra enforcement.

Despite the successes, Operation Cul-de-sac has not proven to be a panacea for drug trafficking in Los Angeles. The large decreases in crime of the early weeks of the program have not always been maintained, although crime—particularly publicly visible crime—has remained well below earlier levels. Benefits have further declined after barricades were removed. The Orion Avenue barricades were removed in late March, but restored in May after several drive-by shootings in the area.

The Los Angeles police remain hopeful, however, that the areas of intensified enforcement have gained sufficient community cohesion to stand on their own after the barricades are removed. Sergeant Hundshamer, who has been posted in the Newton area at various times since 1973, states that, since Operation Cul-de-sac began, "There's a sense of community there that had never been there my entire time on the job." Hundshamer adds that working in the barricaded areas has also helped the morale of the police, showing that "we can win some victories out here on the streets."

Assistant Chief Robert L. Vernon, who directs LAPD operations, sums up his department's approach to community policing: "Police officers of the '90s must be problem-solvers rather than just 'incident handlers.' While the police cannot solve all of society's ills, they can provide leadership in identifying root causes and bringing together appropriate community resources to address the problems."

Police as Community Organizers

Aurora, Colorado, a large Denver suburb of 238,000 people, has developed an intriguing mix of community policing styles. The 385-member department's first experiment with community policing was the brainchild of Sergeant Don Black, an agent in Aurora's Crime Prevention Unit (CPU), an organizational group for Neighborhood Watch and other community-based crime prevention programs. Drawing on his experience in the CPU, Black submitted a proposal for the establishment of a system of Police Area Representatives (PARs). Responsible for given neighborhoods, the PARs would organize citizen groups and disseminate information on crime prevention—thus supporting Aurora's already strong Neighborhood Watch program. The PARs would also be responsible for problem-solving policing, determining and responding to citizen concerns in their areas.

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As with many community policing programs, Black's concept proved popular with the public, particularly in poorer areas of town. A group of citizens from Black's CPU area appeared at a council budgetary meeting and spoke so strongly in favor of the proposal that the meeting had to be suspended to give the council members time to study it. A trial of Black's proposal in five areas was highly popular among both citizens and officers. The PAR officers used ingenuity to expand and improve Neighborhood Watch, Business Watch, and other crime-prevention programs. Officers taught legal education training classes at local schools, so that school children would become accustomed to viewing the police as a normal presence in the community with whom they could communicate. One officer was responsible for patrolling a local mall where youth gangs were becoming a major problem; he involved teachers in the mall patrol program, so that they could recognize and communicate with local youth.

Soon other areas of the city were clamoring for their own PAR officers. Today the PAR system encompasses all 21 patrol beats. The Aurora Police Department (APD) has continued to conduct yearly surveys to measure the public's feelings about the PAR program; satisfaction has consistently remained above 75 percent, reaching 93 percent in 1988.

In 1986, the arrival of Dr. Jerry Williams as chief of Aurora's police department ushered in a wider use of community policing. Williams launched a sustained campaign to integrate community policing methods into the day-to-day thinking of all departmental employees. "From the beginning," states a report by Williams and Division Chief Ron Sloan, "all employees were encouraged to 'own' the idea that the community policing philosophy would become part of the way the entire department would operate." In August and September 1988, personnel from the National Center for Community Policing, a major information clearinghouse headquartered at Michigan State University, conducted training seminars designed to introduce all departmental employees, sworn and non-sworn, to community policing methods. The APD's training curriculum was changed as well. Instructors were asked to rewrite their lesson plans and notes with community policing in mind. Most changes were incremental instead of radical; for instance, trainees might now be instructed that neighborhood canvasses following a burglary should seek information on general conditions that might encourage burglaries in a neighborhood, as well as information on the specific case under investigation.

The APD encourages its motorized patrol officers to get out of their cars and talk to people. This effort has met with some difficulties; while the use of "walkie-talkies" makes it possible to contact officers outside of their cars quickly if they should be needed, the APD's dispatch system is tied into portable computers carried in the patrol cars. Dispatchers complain that having officers away from their car computers produces confusion in the dispatch system, thus making it difficult to dispatch calls for service as promptly as regulations require. There is also worry about citizen reaction to increased response times.

UPI/Bettmann

Cocaine bust: L.A. lawman Daryl Gates (right) runs one of the best police departments in the world.

The APD is attempting to reduce the demands on patrol officers and dispatchers by a system of "graduated response." Under the new system, the urgency of calls for service will be more precisely assessed; a less rapid response will be directed for less urgent calls. Just as ambulances are not dispatched to pick up someone with a cut finger, so it is unnecessary to dispatch patrol cars immediately to take a "cold" crime report on an offense that occurred previously, where the perpetrator is long gone and no current danger exists. The department intends to seek public approval for this system by an educational campaign about the standards governing response times. As Williams and Sloan put it, "People must recognize that each time an officer comes to help them when they have locked their keys in the car, they are expecting a highly trained professional, paid at a relatively high rate, to provide service for 'free' that actually costs them more in taxes than if someone else in the private sector did the job."

Local Solutions for Local Problems

By tradition and design, our federal structure of government has wisely placed the primary responsibility for law enforcement in the hands of local authorities. Most crime is a local problem involving local people, so officials accountable to local citizens are in the best position to provide the quality and type of law enforcement a community wants. Decentralization also provides the opportunity for different experiments in crime-fighting. Indeed, the most important innovations in American law enforcement usually take place not in federal or even state governments, but in city and county police departments.

Community policing is a response to this local orientation. It seeks to adapt the means and ends of policing to the needs of local communities. It is not based on inflexible mandates prescribed by Washington, D.C., or even by the local police headquarters, but rather utilizes the intelligence and perception of officers and individual citizens. For precisely that reason there are no set

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guidelines about how community policing should be carried out in a given setting. Its success depends on innovators with the ingenuity to adapt general principles to specific cases.

Community policing is not primarily about the familiar trappings of police work—squad cars, radios, and weaponry. In fact, community policing is not limited to traditional concepts of the police function itself. Instead, it is about communities, about building the necessary relations and sense of responsibility among community members to reduce and prevent criminal activity. It is noteworthy that many of the most successful community policing innovators have training or backgrounds that go beyond the police profession.

Local communities are the most useful source of information about criminals and patterns of crime.

Charleston's Reuben Greenberg is an academic social scientist and a former human relations officer. Aurora's Jerry Williams has a doctorate from the University of Colorado in public administration, and Division Chief Ron Sloan has a master's degree in education. Houston's Lee Brown is a highly respected academic criminologist with many books and articles to his credit. The oft-noted public-relations skills of many innovative chiefs, such as Brown, Greenberg, and Gates, are also essential to their success. A general understanding of human behavior and the ability to work with people is particularly helpful in making community policing work.

High Costs, High Benefits

There is one virtue that community policing lacks: it is not inexpensive. Often it requires an expansion of police resources. Chief Brown in Houston and Chief Greenberg in Charleston and Mobile both added substantial numbers of officers to those departments. In addition, community policing methods may require more funding of all elements of the justice system, including courts and corrections agencies, for the simple reason that more criminals are caught, brought to trial, and convicted. Where financial constraints exist, as they did in Flint and Los Angeles, community policing efforts may be jeopardized by budget considerations.

Sometimes existing resources can be redirected to provide the necessary support for community policing. Traffic responsibilities may be transferred to the patrol division, providing some savings in manpower. "Civilianization" of the department can also cut costs; various administrative and technical responsibilities can be transferred from sworn officers to civilians, freeing more police to work on the street and in the community. Lee Brown used this method effectively in Houston. Limiting rapid response to those calls that require immediate police presence is also possible, thus distributing work loads more evenly. But this technique requires great care and considerable public education to prevent citizen dissatisfaction.

A final possibility is simply to expand the resources devoted to the police department. Often public pressure will support such a move, as in Flint, Houston, New York, and elsewhere. Since public safety is one of the basic responsibilities of government, and since only 3 percent of total government budgets—city, state, and federal—is spent on criminal justice, there is ample room for such expansion.

The greatest benefit of community policing simply is that it works. It reduces crime, and gives citizens the feeling that they at least have an active and responsive police department to turn to. For too long there has been the feeling in the United States that crime is too much of a problem for government to handle, that nothing can really be done about it. But the innovations discussed here show that something can be done. If police and communities can learn to work together, crime can be reduced and citizens can take control of their communities back from the criminals. As Sergeant Hundshamer of Los Angeles puts it: "We can win some victories out here on the streets." ☎

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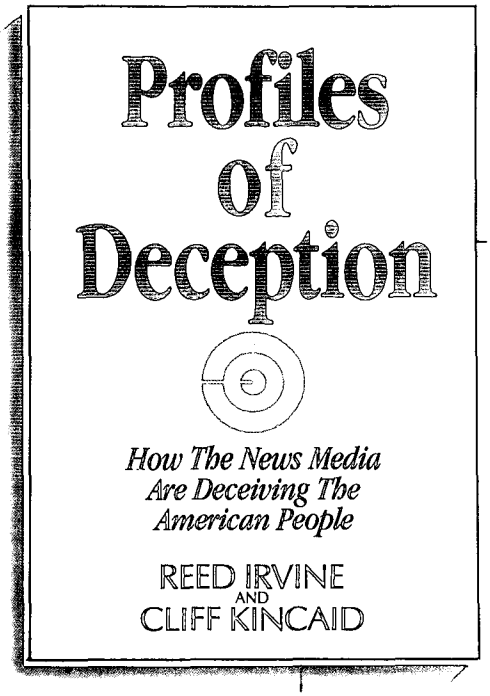

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Government Is Incapable of Detecting Artistic Genius

ANDRÉ RYERSON

Imagine a government so confident of its discernment, and so oblivious of this capacity in its citizens, as to declare each year which automobile it considered the most desirable, then awarded a subsidy, say, to General Motors for its Cutlass Supreme sedan, or to Ford for its Taurus wagon. It is likely that the news media together with the auto industry, and joined by the public at large, would be scandalized. In a market economy we expect government to play the role of umpire, ensuring that fair rules of competition prevail, but not otherwise meddling in matters of private choice. This role is clearly perverted by the government's cheering for one competitor over another and giving it a seal of approval plus cash rewards. The monarchs of Britain once did so, but republican values in America forbade such royal favors as a matter of principle.

Yet in a realm far less open to laboratory testing than the automobile industry, far more liable to error in the long lens of time, where personal taste reigns with magisterial indifference to modes of scientific verification—the arts—we find our government selecting among artists which are worthy to receive public funds and which are not. That the system has provoked a scandal that has reverberated through the halls of Congress is not especially remarkable. What is remarkable is that it took this long to occur.

Aesthetics of Scandal

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) managed to survive outside the light of public scrutiny for a good quarter century, quietly giving grants to artists of "approved" tendencies. The public was indifferent to art that was subsidized but out of sight. In recent years, however, with the rise of photography and "performance art" to places of prominence, the awards the NEA has made in these more accessible art forms have captured media and public attention as never before. With public scrutiny, cries of indignation were not long in coming at the extreme vulgarity of many works supported by the NEA, works of varying technical accomplishment but certain to offend the religious, moral, and aesthetic sensibilities of ordinary Americans.

The downward spiral of taste that the art world has suffered in recent decades follows, in large part, from a mistake about the nature of art that arose from an accident of history. In the 19th century, middle-class mores became wedded to officious norms of academic art, so that the genuine artists of the day, without trying to shock anyone and merely by creating original works, appeared as revolutionary iconoclasts who threatened the social order. Ironically, some of the most brilliant figures of what was emerging as modern art, Manet, Degas, and Cézanne, were men of middle-class values and conservative politics. Neither they nor their liberal colleagues had any intention of overthrowing the social order with their work, a fact attested to by what they had to say for their art and even more by the paintings themselves. Cézanne spoke of achieving classical ideals by handling nature through "the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, all placed in perspective," and by distilling visual essentials in a painting, "producing pictures that are a lesson." Both in creating art and collecting, Cézanne recommended not radicalism, but taste: "Taste is the best judge. It is rare. The artist addresses himself only to an exceedingly restricted number of individuals." He did not consider critics prominent in this group of the elect, though they have since come to dominate the discussion of what constitutes art. "Discussions about art are almost useless," remarked Cézanne. "The labor that achieves progress in one's own craft is sufficient compensation for not being understood by imbeciles."

Impressionist painting's "shock value"—a novel factor in art history—was clearly incidental to the aesthetic value of its works. None of the world's great art until then, through some 5,000 years of labor, had ever been certified as superior by indignant public outcry against it. But ever since the fuss that greeted Impressionism, public scandal has become a convenient "proof" of aesthetic authenticity. By dint of some very sloppy reasoning, the accidental became confused with the essential—at least for certain cultural elites—and a series of simplistic tenets took root: To express the self is to shock. Art is expression. Therefore art must be shocking.

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The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

"The Luncheon of the Boating Party," by Pierre Auguste Renoir. The presence of artists on NEA panels is no guarantee of good judgment. Renoir was told by Manet and other painters that he had no talent.

The shallowness of this syllogism is rarely plumbed by the gallery directors, museum curators, art critics, and foundation heads who embrace and propagate it, among other reasons, because it makes connoisseurship an instantly acquired skill. For while judging the intrinsic merit of a new work of art is extremely difficult, virtually anyone can identify which play or painting is likely to be the most shocking to the average citizen. To fall into this basic error is lamentable enough for gallery managers and theater directors restlessly in search of clients. It is wholly unacceptable as the national arts policy of a government of, for, and by the people.

Mortal Connoisseurs

The case for making the NEA more discerning with the people's money has been argued by some capable politicians, including Congressman Henry Hyde (in *National Review*), and by thoughtful art critics such as Samuel Lipman (in *Commentary*). Unfortunately, they err by recommending better judgment at the NEA to clean up the prevailing mess, instead of seeing that the very enterprise of selecting certain artists to receive grants, while rejecting others, is not an appropriate function for a democratic government.

The scandal has resurrected the old question, "What is art?" It has also added a new one to the agenda, "Why have an NEA?"

People outside a given field tend to trust its practitioners with more expertise than they actually possess. Disappointment follows from discovering that doctors do not have all the right answers and occasionally have the wrong ones, that judges do not always know the law, and that professors can be narrow-minded and ignorant. The recent scandal at the NEA should add to our wisdom in this regard, since it involves state-appointed connoisseurs selecting works of art judged so superior to the norm—a man squashing beetles on his chest, a woman defecating on stage, a porn queen inserting a speculum in her vagina to offer the audience a peek, lesbians inflicting wounds on themselves to prove that ours "is a sick society," a crucifix photographed in a jar of urine, a young girl photographed to reveal her genitals, a homosexual with a whip stuck in his rectum—that these achievements deserve the gift of taxpayers' money plus the imprimatur "funded by the NEA."

The whole misadventure ought to instruct the public that artists and art connoisseurs are no less mortal than the rest of humanity, and no more to be trusted to steer the ship of art than generals are to be trusted to choose our wars.

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The Folger Shakespeare Library

London's unsubsidized Globe Theater. Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Keats, and countless other great artists did not depend on government grants to create their works.

The brouhaha at the NEA obscures, by the very outlandishness of the works rewarded, that even in the most trustworthy and mature hands, ascertaining the value of contemporary art is fiendishly difficult. A great hoax is played on the public when the belief is sponsored that objective criteria exist to discern superior art from the ordinary, the way a consumer service can test the nutrition in a loaf of bread or the acceleration of a given car. And that is why most conservative critics of the NEA, in their moderation, are at odds with the past two centuries of experience, which teach us that there is no sure compass, certainly no unbiased trail guide, in the wilds of contemporary art. At least two generations must pass before any sort of meaningful judgment can be made about the lasting value of a newly minted sculpture, painting, play, or sonata. Critics are needed, certainly, to pass immediate judgment so that we may bestir ourselves to see and hear what in time may prove enduring. But their judgment is fallible and should not be endowed with a perspective it lacks and which only time can provide.

Nor are artists themselves possessed of this gift where the assessment of other artists is involved. An anecdote from the 19th century makes the point. A young painter went to see Manet, the great inaugurator of the Impressionist revolution. The master carefully looked at the young man's canvases, then told him the hard truth. He had absolutely no talent, and ought to find some other vocation. The young man, as it happened, ignored the expert's well-intended advice. His name was Renoir.

When Cézanne was shown some paintings by Van Gogh and asked what he thought of them, Cézanne opined that they were simply the works of a madman.

We expect some professional jealousy in any field, whether among lawyers, doctors, or auto mechanics. But what makes the arts different is that technical skills that are central to other professions are not central to the value of a work of art. Cézanne got lower grades for drawing at the lycée than did his companion Zola. But Cézanne became a great artist despite his awkward draftsmanship because of the quality and power of his vision. Art, as Proust underlined, is above all not a matter of technique, but of vision. And to cultivate a unique and personal vision may well insulate the artist from the virtues of competing visions. In consequence, the presence of artists on government panels distributing grants to other artists is no guarantee against poor judgment, not to mention cabals, cronyism, networks of convenience, political log-rolling, along with ideological self-advancement. All of these charges have been made against those involved in grant-giving at the NEA.

How Government Can Help

But are we not obligated, as a society, to "do something" for the arts? Is art not one of the highest pursuits of the human spirit, the embodiment of ideals all too unattainable in politics or commerce? Yes. And that is precisely why the funding of the arts in a free society should follow from the accumulated choices of the people in their natural diversity, whether as individuals or corporately as businesses and philanthropic foundations. It is not the role of government to "assist" the process either by joining in the swings of art fashion that anoint one coterie today and another tomorrow, or by trying to check or balance them by throwing state influence and power behind some others.

The response of a rigorous laissez-faire capitalist to the entire question would be that art is a commodity like any other, and those who want the product should pay for it. If no one wants Jane Doe's poems or John Brown's paintings, they deserve to sit unsold. Certainly government should have no role in paying for products that no individual will buy.

The distribution of grant money to a chosen few assumes a wisdom that government does not possess, and affords it powers it does not deserve.

As a point of departure, the laissez-faire or market argument is unassailable. Society as a whole should not pay for what no individual member of it wants. But this

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argument omits a consideration that does make art different from other products, namely, the unique factor of time required to assess the ultimate value of a work. The examples of William Blake, Van Gogh, Emily Dickinson, and others unappreciated by their contemporaries rightly haunt those who think about the problem. Is there no way to assist, while they are alive, those who are creating the treasures of posterity, but which the marketplace in the short term identifies only haphazardly?

Some answers are fairly easy. If we want more people to appreciate art, to visit museums with their children, and to invest their taste in an occasional print or painting, an appreciation of art is an obvious precondition. Here the function of government through the schools is sensible and desirable, within the competing demands of a school curriculum.

Closely related to art education is the preservation of our cultural past, through museums, classical theater, and symphony orchestras. While private philanthropy should be our first preference, a role for government, nonetheless, is wholly acceptable in materially preserving our cultural inheritance about which, thanks to the passage of time, rough consensus reigns. Government also has a special place in choosing the architecture of civic buildings.

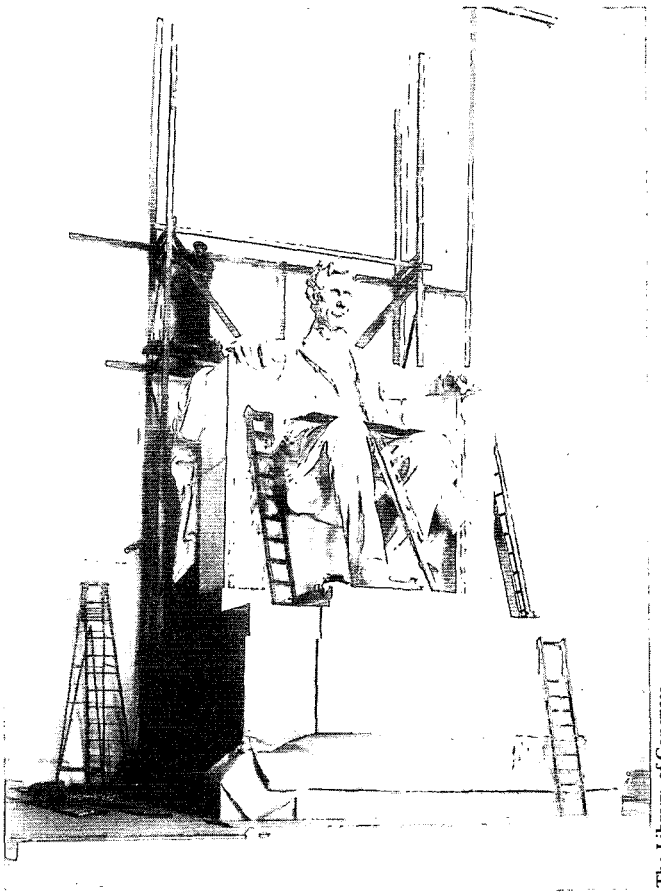
It is also the case that public space and buildings can be improved with public art. Indeed, commissioning works for this purpose began with the Parthenon of Athens in the time of Pericles. More innovative modes of selection than presently prevail, however, would be a healthy turn. It would be refreshing to see (if only for experimental purposes) a simple vote by visitors to an exhibit of models placed in competition, since the voters would be self-selecting (anyone who cares about public art) whose taste, arguably, might prove more distinguished than that of many foundations, and easily of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Part-Time Work

Beyond these rather conventional ideas in support of art are innovations yet to be attempted. Once we honestly admit to having no institutional method for identifying greatness among contemporaries (beyond success in the marketplace), we can see that any institutional role for government should aim at helping artists as a class, rather than playing at the roulette wheel of identifying genius.

One innovation of this sort would involve the tax code, to allow artists deductible losses without a limit of years after which the activity is deemed "a hobby," as is presently the case. Another might involve collecting. If we agree that buying art is desirable but beyond the means of ordinary citizens, a tax deduction could be granted for money spent to participate in "art clubs" to buy art and circulate the works among members who share similar tastes, creating, in essence, fluid mini-museums in the private sphere. (This is how Ben Franklin launched what eventually became our system of lending libraries.)

On the supply-side of the equation, creating art is a financially hazardous choice among vocations. Yet the risk is widely understood and appreciated. The overriding desire of any artist is to secure, not money, but time—the time needed for creative work. Society has no obligation, however, to sustain every self-declared artist—although the Dutch have attempted this with a workfare-for-artists scheme, paying basic salaries and filling countless warehouses with paintings no one sees or cares about. Dutch artists themselves find the system somewhat depressing, and there appears no great push to repeat the experiment elsewhere.



The Library of Congress

Government has a special place in choosing the architecture of civic buildings and the commissioning of public art.

What remains possible on the part of both government and business is a modest, if neglected, gem of an idea: part-time work.

An elitist herd mentality steers art funding, with timid corporations looking to the NEA for leadership.

Flexible work schedules have long been demanded by feminists alert to the special problems of working mothers. Industry is awakening to the need for part-time

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professional schedules because without them superior workers are leaving. But the concept of part-time work has much wider applications. Whole categories of people, not just mothers, would benefit from the option of part-time work. While some jobs are not susceptible to such arrangements, many others are, and the advent of fax machines and modem-linked computers is loosening and decentralizing the modalities of much traditional work. More fluid work schedules would also make better use of office and factory equipment than does a rigid 9-to-5, five-day week, and would also relieve commuter gridlock and its attendant auto pollution and waste of time.

Yet there remains a suspicion that anyone wishing to work part-time is not to be taken seriously. However, studies reveal that part-time professionals have higher rates of productivity than the 60 to 70 percent levels of full-time workers, and in professions with high "burnout" rates, part-time professionals perform above standard.

With part-time work, both professional and unskilled, made more available, an ambitious but unknown artist would be able to work two 10-hour days, receiving exactly half the salary and benefits of his 40-hour co-worker, and still have five full days a week to pursue his art. He would be self-sustaining, a burden on no one, accepting a more ascetic standard of living in order to pursue a creative ideal.

There is no compass in the wilds of contemporary art. At least two generations must pass before meaningful judgment can be made about a new sculpture, painting, play, or sonata.

Amateur Treasures

One can imagine an objection, nonetheless, that would run as follows: "We don't want people working less and producing less: we want them working more. And we certainly don't want a large army of persons playing at art. We want artists who are skilled, competent, in demand, and who work at art full-time. In a word, we want professionals, not amateurs."

The answer to these points is, first, that in a free society people should be able to buy a very precious commodity: time. As we steadily become more affluent in the decades and centuries ahead, more people are going to prefer time to a second or third car in the garage, whether to watch their children grow or to pursue a neglected talent. Time will be seen as the ultimate luxury, and while some will waste it, history shows that leisure has permitted many of the finest works of art and philosophy to arise. And, yes, their authors were very often "amateurs," in that no one was prepared to pay them for their work.

The list of philosophers who were amateurs begins with Socrates, who earned not a drachma for his ideas, and includes Descartes, Locke, Bacon, and Spinoza, whose livelihoods were, respectively, artilleryman, tutor, judge, and lens grinder. Poetry would scarcely exist but for its amateurs, who include Villon, Keats, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Whitman, and Dickinson, who earned their living at everything from picking pockets and teaching English to working as a Washington bureaucrat. Proust was an amateur novelist, as were Jane Austen and Stendhal. In discursive writing, Montaigne was one of our more distinguished amateur essayists, as were Pascal and Thoreau. In painting, the names of Degas, Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Modigliani are emblematic of artists who spent most of their lives working at their easels without pay. Western civilization would be a sorry thing without its ledger of unpaid work and the heroism of its visionary amateurs.

Decentralizing Judgment

Other ideas to advance the arts need to be explored. But our ultimate goals and established truths need to be kept in view. The last thing we should want for a democracy is a government rhinoceros attempting to arrange the china shop of aesthetic preference. Nor does it matter whether the disruption proceeds from a belief that art is a tool for improving the people (the old Communist thesis of socialist realism) or from the belief that government is competent to identify artistic genius and reward it (with grants from the NEA for "cutting edge" artists).

The distribution of grant money to a chosen few assumes a wisdom that government does not possess, and affords it powers it does not deserve. A free society naturally develops a healthy pluralism of competing tastes and preferences, whether in cheeses, wines, books, or art. The ethos of a free society aims at decentralizing opportunities and power, not narrowing them. In diversity is strength. This applies as much to art collecting and connoisseurship as to art creation. Only by encouraging widespread, spunky and independent judgment among the public do we improve our chances that an Emily Dickinson or a Cézanne will be identified while still alive. Quite the reverse will occur by "letting the government" take care of what government is utterly ill-designed to do—discern subtlety of expression and artistic genius. Through the NEA we are fostering the worst of all worlds. We are institutionalizing the nation's taste, and doing so at the lowest level of sensationalist vulgarity.

Death of Patronage

The recent scandal of government funding may prove a blessing if the policy implications behind the events are plumbed to their root. The enterprise of identifying enduring art has no agreed-upon criteria, for its standards are hotly debated by critics, curators, and the artists themselves. Government, least of all, is suited to select

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The best American literary artists have often been amateurs, including (from left to right) Nathaniel Hawthorne, Emily Dickinson, T. S. Eliot, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman.

the worthies amid the crowd. Government has no special authority or expertise whatever in the arts, and its role should be one of a strictly neutral agent so far as regards the success or failure of this artist or that, this school or another.

We should recall that Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Shelley, Keats, and countless other great artists did not depend on government grants to create their works. Their support came from private patrons. Even when governments played a role, it was mainly for the purchase of art in public places—usually sculpture—the selection of which enjoyed broad support. The Church was a great institutional patron, whose place today has been largely taken by corporations and foundations. What is new in recent decades is a widely noted decline in independent taste. An elitist herd mentality has begun to steer the art support process, with timid corporations looking to the NEA for leadership, the NEA narrowly in thrall meanwhile to the "cutting edge" discerned in provocative "performance art" and whatever else enjoys the passing spotlight of New York fashion.

Any institutional role for government should help artists as a class, rather than playing at the roulette wheel of identifying genius.

What is lacking today are bold patrons with genuinely independent taste. We need to think about the problem by remembering that Van Gogh sold exactly one painting in his lifetime. It would be interesting to know who the buyer was. We know it was not a museum, and certainly not a government. It was an individual with the courage of his taste. We badly need such patrons at all levels of our society, free of government attempts to steer the selection process.

We have no way of knowing how our grandchildren will judge our preferences and rearrange our museums. Some humility is in order here. We have no more wisdom about which few living artists will survive the sorting process and enter the pantheon of art than did the last century, which ignored some of the finest painters and poets of the age. In some sense, this is a fundamental condition of art. As André Malraux put it: "Art obeys its own peculiar logic, all the more unpredictable that to discover it is precisely the function of genius."

Art–State Separation

The closest policy model to consider might be the government's relation to religion. The tax code grants religious personnel and institutions general advantages on the grounds that religious faith serves society in moral and spiritual ways distinct from the works of commercial enterprise. But we forbid the government from favoring one sect over another, this faith over that. The faiths and sects must compete among themselves for public favor in the marketplace of belief. The state establishes rules of fair play, but otherwise does not meddle in the free choice of individuals and voluntary groups.

The same policy should operate in the arts. The government has no business favoring one school of art over another, or awarding funds to this painter rather than to that. It lacks the competence to do so, because discernment in as personal and private a matter as art is as unsuitable to public measurement as religious faith.

An enlightened arts policy for a free society must respect the diversity that freedom creates, limited only by the frontiers of morally acceptable behavior as defined by law. Government may serve in a general way to facilitate activities deemed good. But where diversity of private taste contends, the state must stand aside.

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Capitol Offenders

A Budget Reform to Stop Congress from Breaking the Law

Representative Christopher Cox

With the October 1 commencement of another fiscal year, the prospects for sane congressional management of our federal budget are gloomier than ever. Already, fiscal 1991 appropriations are far higher than last year's; and the crisis in the Persian Gulf—which has increased current military spending and renewed congressional willingness to spend on the national defense—has only added to the seemingly hopeless mismatch of revenues and expenses. Worse, even were the budget summit between Congress and the president to yield some grand solution to bring this year's numbers closer into balance, we would still have to deal with next year's, and the year's after. And the dismal truth is that history is not on our side.

Yet, the federal government's financial problems are not nearly so intractable as they first appear. The chronic failure to balance the budget is simply the inevitable result of a poorly designed congressional budget process, which not only permits but encourages violation of the very laws designed to force rational choices among competing priorities. The current process guarantees wasteful spending and financial chaos.

Outlaw Jim Wright

Not least among the reasons that the system is subject to manipulation and abuse is that very few people understand how it works. Even within the Congress itself, terms like "current services baseline," "section 302(b) allocation," and "undistributed offsetting receipts" often produce blank stares. The budget committees, whose members at least have the incentive and opportunity to understand the process, are powerless to enforce its requirements on the appropriations committees (which often spend in seeming disregard of budget guidelines), on the Congress as a whole, or even on themselves. The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, which sets out the current process, is routinely ignored; and there is no remedy at hand to enforce it. As in the Old West, the man with a gun can make his own law, and the current congressional leadership is doing just that.

On my very first day in Congress, then-Speaker of the House Jim Wright announced from the chair that he intended to break the law. This may shock most Americans, but in fact it is routine business in Washington. Speaker Wright pledged in January 1989 that the House would complete work on the required 13 appropriations bills by the August recess. The law requires final action on these bills by June 30.

Imagine the consequences if you were to ignore the April 15 deadline for filing your income tax return. Yet when it comes to more than $1 trillion in annual spending, that is precisely what Congress is now doing—and has been doing routinely throughout each of the 16 years since the passage of the 1974 Act. This violation of the law may have reached its apogee with the utter mismanagement of the fiscal 1990 budget, during the course of which the Congress violated every legal deadline; and the current year's process seems destined to continue that infamous record.

In place of the process mandated by law, the congressional leadership has built a totally extra-legal system whose complexity and incomprehensibility shield it from effective public scrutiny. Virtually no member of Congress—let alone the public—even reads the huge spending bills the Congress adopts. As if in an annual ritual, the president routinely faces a take-it-or-leave-it decision on a hastily crafted omnibus continuing resolution or 11th-hour reconciliation bill running into the thousands of pages and comprising virtually all federal spending for the entire year. The use of such measures has effectively vitiated the president's veto authority, since signing them is the only alternative to closing down the United States government.

Such a system serves only the interests of those who seek to guarantee that government spending is literally uncontrollable, and who assert that the only alternative to massive and ever-increasing deficits is massive and ever-increasing taxation. This was not, however, the intention of those who drafted and passed the 1974 Act. Rather, this law represented an effort to place taxing and spending decisions within the context of an overall budget.

Representative Christopher Cox *(R–CA) is co-chairman of the House Task Force on Budget Process Reform.*

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Failure of the 1974 Act

Until 1974, Congress never voted on a budget. Then, as now, the federal "budget" was simply the sum of the separately enacted annual appropriations bills, along with whatever financial commitments had been placed into law in prior years. To rectify this, the 1974 Act established the House and Senate Budget Committees, and provided for an annual budget to be adopted by Congress. The act required the passage of a non-binding first concurrent resolution on the budget early in the budgeting year, and a binding second concurrent resolution toward the end of that year. Additionally, it was intended that the second resolution would be enforced through reconciliation instructions that would require the various congressional committees to report to the floor whatever legislation was necessary to achieve the established targets. (In practice, Congress simply came to ignore the requirement that it pass a second budget resolution, and the requirement of two resolutions was done away with altogether in the first Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law, enacted in 1985.) Finally, the act set up a legally binding timetable to ensure the timely adoption of individual spending bills.

Certainly, providing for a floor vote on overall budget targets, mandating the timely adoption of spending bills, and enforcing overall budget limits through reconciliation represented positive steps. It is thus not for lack of a workable concept, but rather of effective enforcement mechanisms, that the 1974 Act has failed to bring order and coherence to the budgeting process and failed to bring discipline to congressional decisions to spend money.

Premises of the Cox Plan

To repair the broken-down congressional budget process, we must design a system with teeth in it to make sure that Congress doesn't again abandon it for some less-restrictive expedient. Beginning as a member of President Reagan's Working Group on Budget Process Reform, and now as co-chairman of the House Task Force on Budget Process Reform, I have developed a comprehensive proposal to rewrite the 1974 Act that would do just that. This new plan is based on the premises that an effective budget process must:

- encourage early consultation and cooperation between Congress and the president;
- produce decisions on overall budget levels early in the budgeting year;
- be evenhanded with respect to the president and Congress, not giving either an advantage in dealing with the other or in establishing spending priorities;
- tie each individual spending decision to an overall, binding budget total;
- require explicit decisions on spending levels for all federal programs, not just those arbitrarily deemed "controllable";
- prevent actual or threatened annual shut-downs of the federal government;
- be as simple as possible in concept and means of implementation, so that the process is clear and understandable to Congress and the public;
- not raise difficult questions of constitutionality;
- contain a bias in favor of spending restraint that could be overcome only if both the president and Congress wish to do so; and
- protect individual members of Congress against the political fallout from tough spending decisions by placing the burden to cut spending on the *process* rather than on specific legislators.

To accomplish these objectives, the 1974 Act should be amended to establish three related reforms. Congress should be required to enact a simplified budget, in the form of a legally binding joint resolution (as opposed to the present non-binding concurrent resolution), *before* any spending legislation can be considered. As a joint and not a concurrent resolution, the budget would be presented to the president for his signature or veto, and would thus be more likely to reflect a decision on overall government spending that combines the priorities of both the president and Congress.

Imagine the consequences if you were to ignore the deadline for filing your income tax return. Yet Congress has ignored its deadlines for 16 years.

Second, the budget process should contain enforcement mechanisms that will keep Congress within its budget ceilings for *all* spending except Social Security and the interest on the debt. Also needed is a sustaining mechanism that would be triggered in the event Congress and the president fail to act, so that the federal government will not be shut down because of political deadlock.

These are the basic elements of the Budget Process Reform Act, which, together with other members of the House Task Force on Budget Process Reform, I will soon be introducing in Congress.

A One-Page Budget

The Budget Process Reform Act would require that Congress enact a legally binding budget (in the form of a joint resolution) by May 15 of each year. Until the budget is signed into law, no authorization or appropriations bill could come to a vote in either house. The budget would set ceilings on all federal spending (except Social Security and interest on the debt) for the coming fiscal year. It would fit on a *single page*—setting specified ceilings on government spending within the 19 summary categories currently used in the budget. Because the budget would contain only 19 numbers, it is far more likely that the Congress and the president could agree at this high level of abstraction on how much the federal

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government should spend in the ensuing fiscal year. Numerous government programs and activities would be aggregated within each category, so that wrangling over the more detailed breakdown presently required in the president's budget submission could be avoided. (The president's budget in its present form would continue to be provided, but only after passage of the budget law. Just as now, the Congress would not be bound by its specifics.)

The budget enacted by Congress would also set ceilings for spending on entitlement programs. If the budget set a ceiling below the projected program outlays for the upcoming year, Congress would be required to effect a reconciliation with the budget ceiling by amending the organic statute for the entitlement program so as to meet the new ceiling.

The result would be the establishment of a binding budget, jointly reached by the Congress and the president early in the budgeting year.

The Two-Thirds Requirement

To end the sad spectacle of congressional law-breaking, the act contains three enforcement mechanisms to ensure that its provisions are observed, making it more likely that federal spending will be contained within the agreed-upon ceiling.

First, Congress would be permitted to enact spending legislation in excess of the budget ceilings only by a *supermajority vote*—two-thirds of both houses. Such a requirement would be constitutional: Article I, section 5, cl. 2 of the Constitution gives each house of Congress the power to determine its own rules. And although unprecedented in statute, two-thirds majorities have been required by the rules of the Senate. Senate Rule 22, for example—as amended in 1949—required the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the entire membership to end a filibuster.

The binding one-page budget and its enforcement mechanisms can protect members of Congress from some of the political consequences of tough budget decisions.

The requirement of a supermajority for spending outside of a budget would provide a strong incentive for both the president and Congress to reach agreement on the budget, since neither—although perhaps for different reasons—would wish to be in the situation where all spending requires a supermajority vote. It would also provide a powerful tool to hold the Congress to the budget choices it makes. Thus, for example, if Congress wished to enact an appropriation that, together with other appropriations in the particular budget category, would exceed the budgeted ceiling for that category, this would subject all appropriations in that category to a two-thirds vote. Likewise, if Congress and the president failed to enact a budget, then all authorizing and appropriating legislation would require a supermajority for passage. The only way to adopt spending proposals by simple majority would be to authorize and appropriate within the ceilings of a duly enacted budget law.

No More Blank Checks

Second, Congress would be required to determine the desired level of spending for each federal program except Social Security and interest on the debt. Open-ended, "blank-check" appropriations—such as those for entitlement programs, which authorize the spending of "such sums as may be necessary"—would be banned.

Under the current system, any member of Congress who seeks to cut spending on entitlements must introduce legislation and obtain an affirmative vote to do so. But anyone who wishes to increase spending on any program with an open-ended appropriation need only sit back and watch it go. By requiring the Congress to decide how much it is willing to spend on a program during the coming fiscal period, the new act will level the playing field for spending cuts *and* spending increases. At the same time, it should be emphasized, requiring fixed-dollar appropriations for all federal programs will not in any way mandate reductions in entitlements. Congress would be able to decide to spend as much as it wants on entitlement programs. It would simply have to make that decision with every budget.

Entitlement programs are not "uncontrollable," merely uncontrolled. While the specifics often vary program by program, virtually all open-ended entitlements require that payments be made to any person or unit of government that meets eligibility requirements established by law. All persons who meet the program's eligibility requirements receive benefits to which they are "entitled"—regardless of the aggregate cost in any fiscal period.

Agency-Adjusted Benefits

But there is nothing requiring that entitlement programs have open-ended appropriations. Indeed, Senator Richard Lugar proved that fixed-dollar appropriations can be used for entitlement programs with his amendment to the Food Stamp program. As a result of the Lugar Amendment, the Food Stamp program operates from a fixed-dollar annual appropriation, but nevertheless entitles eligible households to receive certain levels of benefits. If the Secretary of Agriculture concludes that projected outlays will exceed the amount appropriated, he or she is required to recalculate the allotment to which each household will be entitled in order to keep expenditures within the statutory ceiling.

Following this model, the new act authorizes the heads of the relevant cabinet departments and agencies to adjust benefit levels and eligibility requirements when-

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ever entitlement spending exceeds the dollar amount actually appropriated by Congress.

President as Enforcer

Third, with respect to any spending in excess of the budget ceilings, the president would be granted *enhanced rescission authority*—that is, authority to rescind the over-budget portion of any spending unless Congress were to enact legislation expressly disapproving the specific rescission. This authority would be applicable only to the over-budget portion of proposed spending; the president, in other words, would simply be enforcing Congress's own budget decisions, as enacted into law. The president would also be granted authority to effect rescissions of any spending authorized or appropriated in excess of the previous year's funding levels in the event no budget were enacted.

To maintain the integrity of congressional control over the legislative process, the Congressional Budget Office, not the Office of Management and Budget, would be the "scorekeeper" for determining whether particular authorization and appropriations measures are consistent with the budget ceilings, and consequently whether the supermajority vote or rescission authority mechanisms are applicable. A supermajority vote would be required for any spending legislation that would exceed the budget ceiling for one of the 19 budget categories.

To make sure Congress doesn't "sandbag" the process by withholding action on critically important programs that can easily command a two-thirds vote, while filling up a category piecemeal with less urgent spending proposals, passage of the first over-budget spending would subject *all* spending legislation in that category to a supermajority vote. And, to permit the CBO to evaluate individual spending proposals when Congress has failed to act on an entire category, the supermajority requirement would also be triggered in the event that outlays

How Congress Broke the Law with the 1990 Budget

LEGAL DEADLINE	ACTION REQUIRED BY LAW	RESULT
January 9, 1989	White House budget due.	Submitted, as required by law, January 9.
February 15	Congressional Budget Office to submit report to budget committees.	CBO violated the law: report not submitted until February 23.
April 1	Senate Budget Committee to report concurrent resolution.	Senate violated the law: not reported until April 19.
April 15	Congress to clear concurrent resolution on budget.	Congress violated the law: not cleared until May 18.
May 15	Appropriations bills allowed in House.	House violated the law: first appropriation bill not considered until June 28.
June 10	House Appropriations Committee reports last annual appropriation bill.	House violated the law: as of June 23, only one committee markup complete.
June 15	Congress completes reconciliation legislation.	Congress violated the law: reconciliation bill not cleared until November 22.
June 30	House completes action on 13 annual appropriations bills.	House violated the law: only one was passed on time. House action was not completed until November 20.
July 15	Committees required by budget resolution to have submitted instructions for reconciliation.	Congress violated the law: fully half of committee instructions were late.
October 1	Fiscal year begins.	Congressional failure to act caused Gramm-Rudman ax to fall.
October 16	Under Gramm-Rudman, automatic cuts of $16 billion in defense, domestic programs take effect.	Late reconciliation bill keeps the meat-ax hacking for more than four months—until February 8, 1990.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly*, Library of Congress, United States Code

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for a specific program under consideration, when added to the inflation-adjusted previous year's outlays for all other programs within the category, would exceed the budget ceiling in that category. The president's rescission authority would apply to any spending for which a supermajority vote was required.

These three enforcement mechanisms—the supermajority vote, fixed-dollar appropriations, and enhanced rescission authority for the president—ensure that the budget process will no longer be ignored. They do not, however, weaken the congressional power of the purse. Once a budget has been enacted, these mechanisms place procedural barriers in the way of *only that spending that would exceed the limits* to which Congress and the president have already committed themselves by law.

Averting a Shutdown

The final element in the Budget Process Reform Act is the sustaining mechanism—an *automatic continuing resolution.* In the event Congress fails by October 1 to complete action on appropriations for any program or activity, the previous year's funding level would automatically be reappropriated for the upcoming fiscal year. This mechanism has the virtue of avoiding the temporary shutdown of the government for lack of funds, while providing an additional incentive for Congress and the president to authorize and appropriate through the budget process. Unlike the Gramm-Rudman sequester, this continuing resolution would apply to all spending, except Social Security and interest. A freeze at the prior year's levels would be a result that both branches will wish to avoid, since each is likely to feel that there are some important accounts that should be dealt with differently than in the previous year. An added virtue of this sustaining mechanism is its bias in favor of spending restraint. If no action is taken, spending does not increase from year to year.

Rescission authority would apply only to the over-budget portion of proposed spending: the president would simply be enforcing Congress's own budget decisions, as enacted into law.

The sustaining mechanism is *not* the preferred means of determining federal spending levels, but rather is a form of disaster insurance against the contingency that the Congress and the president do absolutely nothing. The government does not shut down, and the Congress is not tempted to lay at the president's feet the night before October 1 a mountainous appropriations bill that he cannot read and must sign if he wishes to avoid shutting down the government.

A Politician's Dream

The problems of runaway spending and lack of accountability are not new—they're simply getting worse. Now, our huge federal borrowing is threatening to increase interest rates and inflation, and to destroy the overall health of the economy. The amount of taxes each of us will pay next year, the cost of our home loans and car payments, our career opportunities, the value of our retirement savings—all are dependent on whether Congress finally tames the budget beast. No longer will it suffice to consider one or two discrete repairs to the process, such as a line-item veto or new Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets. While such reforms are needed, only a comprehensive rewrite of the 1974 Act will go to the heart of the problem: an undisciplined, out-of-control budget process.

There is reason to be sanguine about the near-term prospects for this proposed comprehensive reform of the budget process. Like Representative Dick Armey's base-closing commission and the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequester, the binding one-page budget and its enforcement mechanisms can protect members of Congress from some of the political consequences of tough budget decisions. The procedures themselves can take the heat for any unpopular spending cuts that might become necessary in order to meet the budget. First, because the budget ceilings are adopted early in the process and at a macroeconomic level, voting for a responsible budget will be politically less difficult than voting against specific spending bills. Even more important, the enforcement and sustaining mechanisms—supermajority vote, rescission authority, automatic continuing resolution—will permit politicians to say "yes" while the system says "no." That is a politician's dream. So for those in Congress who are concerned about the deficit, but who are unwilling to make an unpopular decision, the Budget Process Reform Act is ideal. The majority party of Congress should also presumably be interested in an act that would permit them to determine spending priorities with just a majority vote.

I believe a majority in the Congress could be persuaded to vote for a thoroughgoing reform of the 1974 Act. An encouraging sign was the recent 279–150 vote in the House of Representatives in favor of a constitutional amendment requiring a supermajority vote for an unbalanced budget. The time has arrived for this bipartisan coalition of fiscal conservatives to go further and address the root causes of our budget crisis. If we are successful in bringing budget process reforms to a vote, the nation will discover for certain whether the Congress is serious about its responsibility to the taxpayer, to our economy, and to future generations of Americans. ☎

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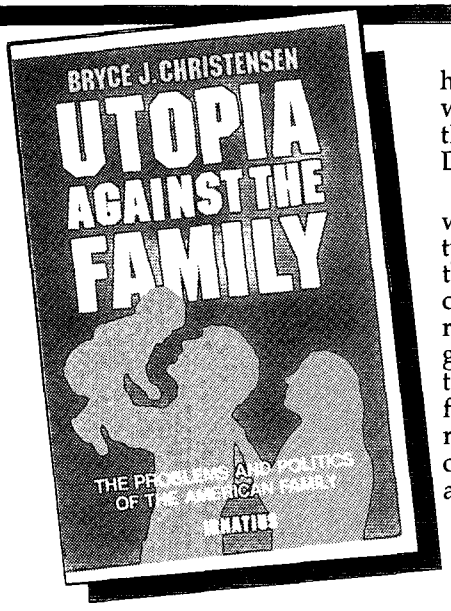
FIGHTING for SURVIVAL of the family and humanity

Disputes over the family now rage with strange intensity. Many social workers and government planners regard the traditional family as an anachronism, an obstacle to the fulfillment of political ambitions. *Utopia Against the Family* clarifies the cultural and spiritual significance of current debates over family questions. Bryce Christensen identifies the underlying causes of our national retreat from family life, while exposing the mendacity of much "pro-family" rhetoric. Drawing upon utopian literature from Plato to B. F. Skinner, the analysis examines why the modern state expands at the expense of the family.



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"Christensen lays bare the forces which work to undermine the stability of the family and wreak havoc in the daily lives of millions of Americans. He successfully challenges current wisdom on the subject and cogently unmasks the ideological pretensions of those who war on the family. Anyone concerned about the role which values play in shaping the contours of the social order cannot afford to miss this book."

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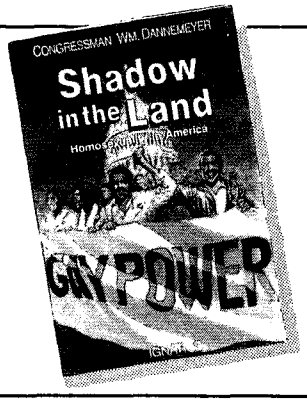

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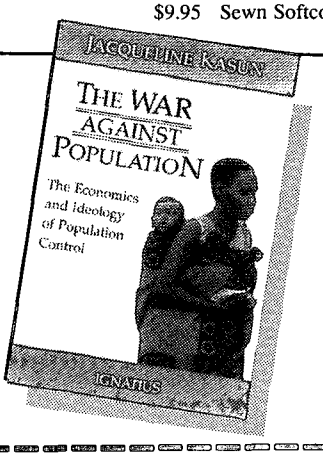

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Through a Glass Darkly

Is the Christian Right Overconfident It Knows God's Will?

Thomas C. Atwood

The Evangelical Protestant Right is reawakening. Conservative charismatics, Fundamentalists, and other born-again and Evangelical Christians were briefly confused and demoralized by the demise of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, the failure of Pat Robertson's presidential campaign even in the South, the Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart scandals, and the slow start last year by pro-life forces in most parts of the country after the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision partially returned abortion decisions to state legislatures. But now the Evangelical Right is back, better organized for state and local politics and less dependent on highly visible national leaders, and more effective because it works through broader-based organizations not explicitly identified with Evangelicalism.

A panoply of activist organizations has emerged, ranging from local, single-issue, "kitchen-table" operations to national organizations with grass-roots networks throughout the states. Some of the highly visible organizations with strong Evangelical Right support, such as Focus on the Family, Concerned Women for America, and Eagle Forum, downplay their religious identification, choosing instead the more inclusive strategy of emphasizing issues and values. Focus on the Family has two million members, has formed pro-family coalitions in 18 states through its Family Research Council, and syndicates James Dobson's highly popular radio show to 1,400 stations. Concerned Women for America has 700,000 members and a sophisticated national network of phone trees, prayer chapters, and trained lobbyists. The membership of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum is smaller (80,000) but remarkably efficient in mobilizing through phone trees, newsletters, and lobbyists.

Grass-Roots Revival

Earlier this year, these and other pro-family groups, such as Mississippi minister Don Wildmon's American Family Association, joined with more explicitly evangelical organizations such as the National Association of Evangelicals, the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, and Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network in arranging a blitz of phone calls that convinced Congress to remove biases against religious and informal child-care from federal day-care legislation. More recently, these groups have been at the forefront of the massive public protests against federal funding of obscene and blasphemous art.

Evangelical and other pro-life forces have meanwhile gathered momentum around the states; leaders expect to introduce major pro-life legislation in all but a few state legislatures in 1991. Where comprehensive bans with few or only life-of-the-mother exceptions are judged not to be achievable, most pro-lifers plan to put forth passable legislation that targets the pro-choice "hard cases"—banning gender-selection abortions, post-viability abortions, and taxpayer funding of abortions, and requiring parental consent, informed consent, spousal notification, viability testing, and professional standards of hygiene for abortion facilities. They expect to be able to make examples of state legislators who vote against such popular restrictions by "hanging a few scalps on the wall," as Paul Weyrich is fond of saying. This has already happened in Illinois where post-*Webster* pro-life legislation was bottled up in committee by one vote, and a pro-life primary candidate unseated the Republican leader of the House, a 20-year veteran who had voted against the measure.

Other priorities for the Evangelical Right over the next year or two include abstinence-based curricula in sex education classes, vouchers for private school and home-school students, and enforcement of the laws protecting voluntary prayer groups at public schools, while opposing gay rights and contraceptive counseling at school-based clinics. Family tax issues are also on the agenda—restoring the allowance per dependent to 1940s levels (adjusted for inflation) and making adoption-related expenses tax-deductible. And crisis pregnancy counseling centers will continue to be a priority; the Christian Action Council already has 400 centers in the United States and Canada and plans many more.

Beyond these specific goals, the central challenge for

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the Evangelical Right is to move from cultural isolation to cultural leadership. Most of the movement's victories so far have been defensive—protecting the tax-exempt status of Christian schools when the Internal Revenue Service threatened to take it away, protecting the religious liberty of students who wanted to form voluntary after-hours prayer groups at public schools, pressuring Presidents Reagan and Bush to name Supreme Court justices who would overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*, stopping public funding of abortion and abortion counseling, stopping convenience stores from openly displaying pornography, stopping state and local "gay rights" legislation in many jurisdictions. But conservative Evangelicals have been less successful in persuading the public of their most important civic values—the affirmative obligation of the state to protect human life, the right of parents to make the most important decisions about educating their children, the right of communities to establish wholesome environments by restricting certain kinds of non-political expression, and the state's obligation to reinforce the institution of the traditional family.

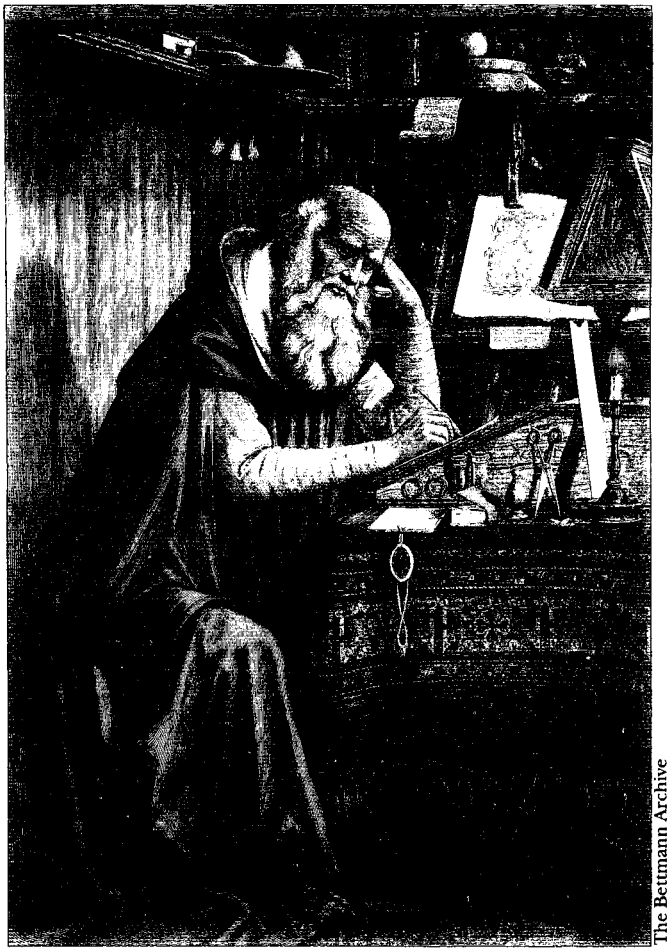
The isolation of the Evangelical Right has also kept it from positions of leadership in government and mainstream politics. The problem is especially severe in the Republican Party, where angry factionalism divides GOP regulars from the Religious Right in many locales, and Evangelicals have failed to win either influence or offices commensurate with the number of enthusiastic activists they have brought into the party.

This isolation is explained partly by widespread bigotry against conservative Evangelicals. Anti-Fundamentalism is probably expressed more commonly and more openly today than either anti-Catholicism or anti-Semitism. But the isolation is also of the Evangelical Right's own making. Conservative Evangelicals have made a number of major political errors that have hampered their effectiveness. And underlying these political errors—paradoxically for a movement that takes religion so seriously—has been a set of theological positions dissonant with Evangelical Christianity.

Overestimation of Strength

A major strategic error of the Evangelical Right has been the overestimation of its own strength. Thinking they had "enough votes to run the country," as one conservative Evangelical leader put it a decade ago, all too many Evangelical Right activists and leaders have spoken in unrealistic terms about what the movement would accomplish. This overconfidence discouraged conservative Evangelicals from following basic rules of politics, such as respect for opposing views, an emphasis on coalition-building and compromise, and careful rhetoric. Thus they often came across as authoritarian, intolerant, and boastful, even to natural constituents. And high expectations made the Evangelical Right look worse for its failure to live up to them. Fear-mongering by groups such as People for the American Way and the American Civil Liberties Union and media exaggerations of Evangelical Right strength also contributed to the general impression that America might be taken over by "moral majoritarians."

A common fallacy during the 1980s was to cite Gallup



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St. Jerome seeking guidance as he translates the Bible. Even with the tools God has given us to help discern His will, believers are required to be reverent and cautious about speaking for the Lord.

polls indicating that between 50 million and 80 million Americans call themselves "born-again Christians," as if this self-description somehow equated to acceptance of the Evangelical Right's political agenda. But Evangelicals are hardly monolithic in their political beliefs or voting and party identification. As political scientist Stuart Rothenberg has written, "Politically, Evangelicals cut across the spectrum. While more conservative than the population in general, their ranks also include many liberals. A 1984 survey by the Free Congress Foundation...found that they oppose government funding of abortions overwhelmingly, but they also back the Equal Rights Amendment and support the availability of birth-control information in the public schools. And Evangelicals are split on issues such as defense spending and the morality of abortion." George Gallup Jr. and Jim Castelli confirm this political diversity within Evangelicalism in their 1989 book, *The People's Religion*. For example, many Baptists strongly oppose prayer in public schools, and some of the most prominent evangelical preachers, such as Billy Graham, have kept their distance from the Evangelical Right. And significantly, more Evangelicals voted for George Bush than for Pat Robertson in the early 1988 Republican primaries.

The Evangelical Right probably numbers in the mil-

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lions rather than the tens of millions. While this still constitutes a powerful political base, especially because so many conservative Evangelicals are willing to become political activists, it also means that the Evangelical Right cannot achieve much political influence without forming coalitions.

New Ecumenism

One of the major organizational achievements of the Evangelical Right has been its coalition-building with conservatives of other faiths. Shared defensive interests have bound conservative Evangelicals together in common cause with theologically and politically conservative Roman Catholics and Jews. As George Weigel of the Ethics and Public Policy Center has said, "The 'new ecumenism'...is the result of a shared perception that the systematic effort to strip American public policy discourse of any relationship to the religiously based values of the American people portends disaster for the American experiment." Conservative Evangelicals and Catholics have cooperated rather harmoniously in the pro-life movement. Through its strong support for Israel on biblical grounds, the Evangelical Right has also developed good ties with a number of Jewish organizations. These coalitions are quite remarkable considering historic Protestant animosities toward Jews and "papist" Roman Catholics.

The Evangelical Right never built a strong relationship with the evangelical establishment as represented by Billy Graham, *Christianity Today*, and the National Association of Evangelicals.

The Evangelical Right is also itself a coalition across evangelical theological streams that have often been antagonistic toward one another. All Evangelicals share the belief that one must personally accept Jesus Christ as Savior to enjoy eternal life, and almost all maintain the infallibility of Scripture. Many, although not all, identify their conversion with a specific born-again experience. In the past, though, heated divisions among Evangelicals have arisen over Fundamentalism (the belief in a literal interpretation of the Bible); eschatology (whether Christ will come before or after His Kingdom is established); and the Pentecostal or charismatic belief in spiritual gifts, including glossolalia (speaking in tongues), prophecy, and healing. Nevertheless, during the past dozen years, political conservatives from these various evangelical streams, along with conservatives from mainline Protestant denominations, have generally been able to put aside their theological disputes in making common political cause.

Missed Opportunities

This model of coalition-building has not been replicated elsewhere within Evangelicism, however. The Evangelical Right never built strong relationships with the mainstream evangelical establishment as represented by Billy Graham, *Christianity Today* magazine, and the National Association of Evangelicals. Another missed opportunity has been the failure of white conservative Evangelicals to build effective political relationships with black Evangelicals.

On moral and social issues white Evangelicals are closer to black Evangelicals than they are to white non-Evangelical Protestants. Moreover, a number of items on the agenda of the Evangelical Right could be highly appealing to blacks if framed correctly—particularly parental choice in education and abstinence-based sex education in public schools. An alliance between white and black Evangelicals would also probably be the single most effective way of dispelling derogatory stereotypes of the Evangelical Right.

Leaders of the Evangelical Right have made some efforts to build bridges to blacks. Jerry Falwell has often preached in Watts and other black neighborhoods. Pat Robertson opened his presidential campaign in the predominantly black neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, site of his first ministry, and chose a black man, Ben Kinchlow, as his co-host on the *700 Club*. Those blacks who have joined the Evangelical Right have been welcomed with open arms.

For the most part, though, black Evangelicals have kept their distance. One reason may be that black churches are often deeply involved with the politics of the Democratic Party and are generally supportive of government welfare programs. Black Evangelical preachers may therefore not want to antagonize their political allies on economic and social-welfare issues by allying with conservatives on moral and family issues.

Another explanation is that the Evangelical Right hasn't given much thought to practical solutions to the problems of special concern to blacks—poverty, unemployment, discrimination, educational inequality, drug addiction, and the deterioration of the black family. Black Evangelicals could tell what conservative white Evangelicals were *against* with respect to "black" issues—redistribution of wealth, allowing capable people to be dependent on welfare, racial quotas, busing, softness on crime, and government-created economic incentives for the dissolution of the family—but they couldn't really tell what white Evangelicals were *for*.

Cognitive (Im)modesty

Coalition difficulties have also lessened the effectiveness of conservative Evangelicals in the party of Lincoln, which has become a "tent divided" in many jurisdictions. Antagonism in the GOP between Republican Party regulars and the Evangelical Right, particularly at the state and local levels, is hurting both parts of this still uneasy coalition. State and local GOP leaderships have

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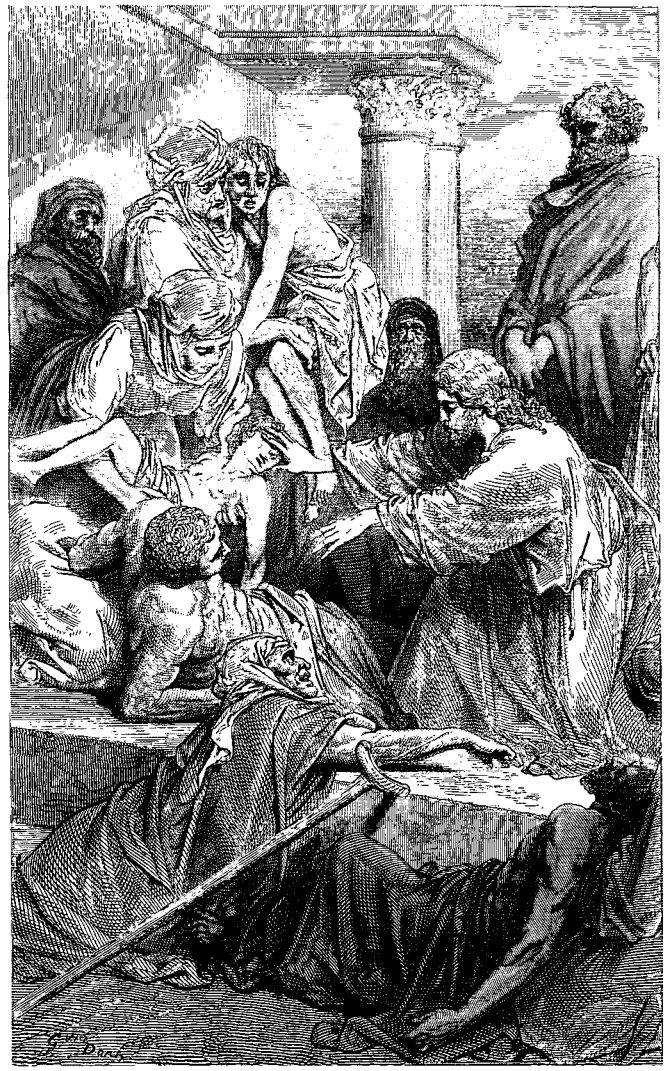
in many cases been too resistant to the armies of hard-working activists that the Evangelical Right can offer and the party desperately needs. In some cases, Republican leaders have resorted to dirty tricks, lockouts, and even physical violence and threats to keep these newcomers out. But many conservative Evangelicals have also been unwilling to engage in the compromises and give-and-take so crucial for effective coalition-building. Although some of these mistakes can be traced to inexperience, others stem from misapplications or misinterpretations of evangelical theology in the political context.

Conservative Evangelical activists are now notorious for displaying an overconfidence in their ability to discern the Divine Will at any time, in any situation. Certainly, most people can and should respect Evangelicals' conviction that believers can discern God's will through prayer, Bible study, wise counsel, and the gentle promptings of the in-dwelling Holy Spirit. But some Evangelical activists, at both ends of the political spectrum, have been too quick to put words into the mouth of the Almighty in the political context. Evangelical theologian Carl F. H. Henry said it well when he criticized the Evangelical Right for "its confusion of the inerrancy of Scripture with the inerrancy of its own interpretation and application of Scripture."

In recent years some well-meaning Evangelical Right organizations have applied biblical "scores" to candidates' positions on such issues as the INF Treaty, South Africa sanctions, tax reform, and Contra aid. And politically liberal evangelical leaders use the same Bible to argue for the opposite positions, or even more radical positions such as liberation theology. Well-intentioned though they are, one has to question whether some of these uses of Scripture aren't violations of the commandment against taking the name of the Lord in vain. From a strategic view, such arguments can be counterproductive, because so many hearers are offended by the presumption of speaking for God.

This overconfidence was especially noticeable among charismatics, who became prominent in the Evangelical Right in the mid- to late 1980s. Charismatics, or Pentecostals, hold that believers are able to discern God's will and word through prophetic gifts, without reference to the authority of Scripture (as long as the "word from the Lord" does not contradict Scripture). But one can believe in prophetic gifts and still acknowledge that they are too subjective for use as an authoritative reference in political argument—and impractical strategically because of the perplexed reactions they generate among noncharismatics.

Spiritual warfare is conducted primarily through prayer, evangelism, and ministry, not politics.



To become cultural leaders, conservative Evangelicals must minister healing, compassion, and justice to the culture, not simply condemn its fallen nature.

Similarly, a misinterpretation of the Evangelical belief that God answers prayer led some to a simplistic notion that the truly faithful would achieve their specific, desired political result through public prayer and confession, "speaking the word of faith." This has led at times to claims of God-ordained electoral victory, only to be followed by defeat.

Another effect of spiritual overconfidence among Evangelical Right activists has been a tendency not to engage forthrightly the ideas of non-Evangelicals or liberals or even other Evangelicals or conservative Republicans with different views, but rather to dismiss them as ungodly and unworthy of response or discussion. The attitude would tend to be, "Why bother to pay attention to anyone else's ideas if we've already heard from God?" Or as the bumper sticker reads, "God said it, I believe it, that settles it." But the American people expect to hear policy issues openly and publicly debated; indeed they need those kinds of debates in order to make well-considered decisions.

A more biblical (and ultimately more effective) at-

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titude to replace this spiritual overconfidence would be one of "cognitive modesty—an awareness of the limitations of our knowing," in the words of Richard John Neuhaus in *The Naked Public Square.* An underpreached verse in Scripture is appropriate here: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known" (I Corinthians 13:12). This is not to say that we know no truth, simply that our knowledge is only partial until "the perfect is come" (verse 10), until the Kingdom of God is come. "In this light, modesty and provisionalism are not the result of weak-kneed accommodationism but are required by fidelity to claims of the gospel" (Neuhaus again). Even with the generous tools God has given to help us know Him and discern His will, believers are required to be reverent and cautious about speaking for the Lord, especially in the volatile, darkly glassed world of politics.

Faithful Compromise

A second misapplication of evangelical theology by conservative Evangelicals has been a tendency "to apply to politics the same absolutism and purity they appropriately apply to their religious doctrine," as Brian O'Connell of the National Association of Evangelicals puts it. Evangelical Right activists have sometimes excluded potential coalition partners because they do not share their conservative theism. And, making the opposite error, all too many conservative Evangelical activists have judged a person's sincerity and orthodoxy of faith by his politics. I observed this at the 1990 Fairfax County, Virginia, Republican Convention where one delegate was told that he was "not a Christian" because he was supporting the "wrong" candidate for county chairman. In all fairness, most Evangelical leaders and activists frown on such pronouncements. But even their occasional occurrence perpetuates party factionalism and the negative stereotype of Evangelicals.

A common fallacy was to equate the numbers of born-again Christians—50 million to 80 million—with the political strength of the Evangelical Right.

This political orthodoxy has led to taking a hard line on virtually every issue, and an unwillingness to compromise on tactics. Rather than define and pursue a realistic, achievable agenda of incremental progress, conservative Evangelicals have expected too much too fast, sometimes displaying an almost martyr-like relish for taking extreme positions without concern for results. Such efforts have generally gone down in flames.

Many conservative Evangelicals have learned from these experiences: the perfect should not be the enemy of the good. It is not necessarily unprincipled to take incremental steps toward a desired policy goal. Nor is it unprincipled to base political decisions, in part, upon the perceived potential consequences of those decisions. Relentless insistence on the once and for all achievement of the "perfect" policy—and on working only with candidates and coalition partners committed to that standard—can leave the Evangelical Right without achieving even a "better" policy. It can also leave them without political allies.

Controversial political issues usually take years, often decades, before they are ultimately settled. For a political movement to be successful, it must have some advocates who articulate the long-term goal (like the abolitionists), despite the controversy such advocacy stirs up; but, as Lincoln was well aware, a politician will not survive if he gets too far ahead of public opinion. A politician can only hope to achieve what is politically achievable in his time, and trust the ultimate resolution to Whom Neuhaus calls the "Arbiter Absolute." In this light, settling temporarily for less than the ideal but moving incrementally toward it can represent both moral progress and an act of faith in God.

Servant-Leadership

A third theological error has been the idea that the people of God—and specifically Evangelical Christians—should *rule.* Two passages from Scripture often used to justify this "dominion mandate" are Genesis 1:26-28, calling on man to rule the earth, and Deuteronomy 28:13, "And the Lord shall make you the head, and not the tail; and you only shall be above, and you shall not be underneath." The triumphalist idea of Evangelical Christian rule, of "putting the righteous in authority" as an end in itself, has been widespread.

But this triumphalism is in conflict with Christ's own definition of leadership: "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all" (Mark 10:43-44; also Matthew 20:26-27). Christians are not called to rule or "lord over" the people, but to *serve* the people. Leadership is to be earned and maintained through service, not domination. This is not to say that conservative Evangelicals should become servile to the Republican establishment or other prospective coalition partners. True service, like love, requires toughness sometimes. But the truth *can* be spoken in love. One *can* play political hardball with a heart of love and service toward God, neighbor, and even toward political adversaries.

Conservative Evangelical activists who have been most successful at getting and staying ahead in the Republican Party have done so by quietly and diligently earning the trust and respect of both conservatives and moderates. This has been happening with greater frequency as the Evangelical Right's experience grows. But those Evangelical Right activists who have won GOP leadership positions simply because their faction controlled a majority have lost influence when their newcomer fellow activists failed to sustain their political involvement (like

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the seeds planted on shallow ground that shoot up quickly, but then wither in the heat of the sun).

Most conservative Evangelicals know and believe in this principle of "servant-leadership." For example, Pat Robertson wrote an entire chapter on it in his popular 1982 book, *The Secret Kingdom.* Yet conservative Evangelicals' devotion to this principle has not always been evident. Too often, the implicit rallying cry of the Evangelical Right has been "Christians, take over," instead of "Christians, serve." Too often the rhetoric has seemed to express anger and condemnation. To become cultural leaders, though, conservative Evangelicals must minister healing, compassion, and justice to the culture, not simply condemn its fallen nature.

In practical terms, too, one wonders if the Evangelical Right would be more effective today had its message been more widely understood as "We're here to serve; what can we do to help our party's candidates get elected, or what can we do to help solve the problems of the black community?", instead of "We're the Christians and we're here to take over; are you with us or against us?"

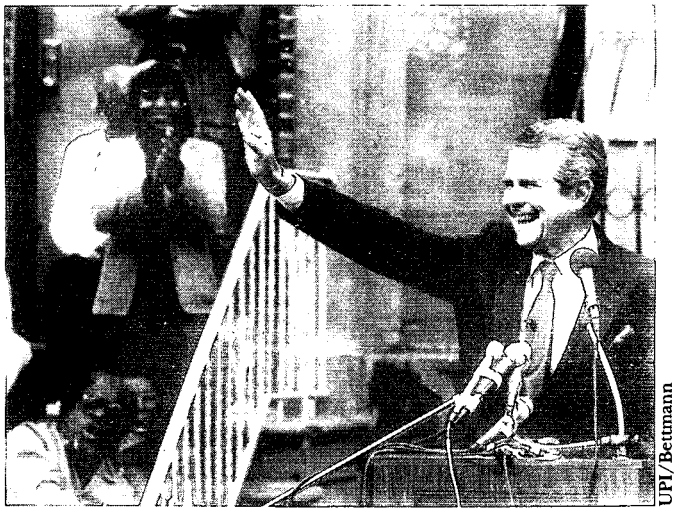
The Law Written on Our Hearts

A fourth theological error that has hindered the effectiveness of the Evangelical Right in coalition politics has been a failure to distinguish between the means of special grace and common grace, and between the authorities of special revelation and general revelation.

An alliance between white and black Evangelicals would probably be the single most effective way of dispelling derogatory stereotypes of the Evangelical Right.

Special grace is that grace available through God's *redemptive* order, that grace available to believers through faith in Christ. Its blessings are salvation, deliverance from sin, a personal relationship with God through prayer, and eternal life in the Kingdom of God. The church's primary charge is to witness to this grace. Special revelation is that revelation which explains the redemptive plan of God—historically considered to be found only in Scripture, but some today might also include the uniquely personal revelation available through prayer, and charismatics would include revelation from true prophecy.

Common grace is that grace available within God's *created* order; it is afforded to all people regardless of religious belief. This created order includes not only physical nature but also aspects of metaphysical nature, including the created moral order. The law of gravity



UPI/Bettmann

Despite symbolic overtures such as Pat Robertson's opening of his 1988 presidential campaign in a black Brooklyn neighborhood, the Evangelical Right has not done enough to build bridges with black Evangelicals.

and the "falling of the rain on the just and the unjust" are examples of common grace. Another example, according to Christian (and Jewish) teaching, is that all people are created in the image of God, and are therefore capable of giving and receiving love and of acting unselfishly. The blessings of common grace are the provision, tranquility, and satisfaction that can come from living in harmony with God's created order.

General revelation is universally knowable wisdom that points to God as Creator and to the order of His creation. God's "eternal power and deity [can be] clearly perceived in the things that have been made" (Romans 1:20). His created moral order is knowable by examining "the law written on our hearts" (Romans 2:15). This is the law by which all candid people know that murder is wrong, for example. It is the law by which our consciences, if they are not too cauterized and traumatized by sin, judge us. Kenneth Myers, author of a forthcoming book discussing the importance of common grace to the formulation of a Christian public philosophy, summarizes the distinction between the two types of revelation as follows: "General revelation has to do principally with creation, and special revelation deals uniquely with redemption, although it obviously deals with creation as well." To this summary Myers has added the following important point, "Scripture itself implies that there is no reason to suppose that truth is exhausted in Scripture. That is, if God speaks in creation as well as in His redemptive work and words, then we ought to listen to Him everywhere....[T]here is a biblical mandate for *not* attempting to solve all cultural and social problems with deductions from Scripture."

Many Evangelical Right activists have not recognized the authority of general revelation, and instead have liberally referred to special revelation in their political arguments. Quoting chapter and verse, they would attempt to deduce their policy goals from biblical principles, "government by the Book," as one Freedom Council publication is titled. Their communications would also often use redemptive rhetoric to rally the

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troops, exhorting them to band together to "take America for Christ" or "restore America to righteousness." This language has been understandably alarming to people of other faiths, even to many Christians, who feared the Evangelical Right would impose its beliefs on everyone else. Such rhetoric also limited the potentially broad appeal of the Evangelical Right's arguments, which could easily have been phrased in general revelation terms, but were instead tuned out by Americans irritated by "Christianese."

"Christian America"

Even many Evangelicals have been disturbed by the Evangelical Right's overuse of redemptive vocabulary and concepts in public policy arguments, which imply, contrary to Christian teaching, that the state has a redemptive capability. The government described in Romans 13 is clearly an institution of common, not special, grace. Its role is the mitigation of evil in a fallen world, not the redemption of man's sinful nature. Politics can help by providing public forums for discussions of morality, and good law does influence public moral behavior, but the primary means of restoring righteousness will always be spiritual and moral revival in the hearts of people, which is a task for God Himself and for a Holy Spirit-led Church.

"There is a biblical mandate for *not* attempting to solve all cultural and social problems with deductions from Scripture."

Many Christians have also been disturbed that the overuse of special revelation in policy debate politicizes the Gospel, thereby competing with the Gospel's redemptive purpose, distracting and confusing disciples and potential converts alike with cacophonous voices, and diluting its power to save. As Michael Cromartie, co-editor of *Piety and Politics: Evangelicals and Fundamentalists Confront the World*, says, "Many people are looking for the bread of life and instead some Christian leaders only give them a 'political stone.'...But our very best political efforts will not reconcile us to the Father."

Many conservative Evangelicals have referred to America's Christian heritage in justifying their reliance on scriptural arguments as well as their calls to restore America to her Christian roots. However, despite the Founding Fathers' biblical ethos and worldview, their finest piece of political advocacy, the *Federalist Papers*, contains scant reference to God and Providence, let alone biblical chapter and verse. As Regent University (formerly CBN University) associate professor Gary Amos points out in his book, *Defending the Declaration*, when the Founders did appeal to God or Providence, as in the Declaration of Independence, it was to God as Creator, the Endower of unalienable rights, not as Redeemer. Moreover, during conservative Protestantism's heyday in the mid-19th century, when the calls for a "Christian America" had widespread support, the goal was generally a Christian "people," "society," or "civilization." There was no establishment of any religion even at the state level after 1833. Most 19th-century Americans viewed a Christian "state" as an indirect result of a Christian people or nation, not the other way around, as it might seem with some Evangelical Right activists' heavy emphasis on politics.

Reformed Rhetoric

One of the virtues of the Evangelical Right has been its sincere effort to learn from its mistakes. The theological and political lessons mentioned in this article are frequently discussed within the movement. The biblical philosophy of political involvement these lessons suggest would consist of five principles, all now recognized in much of the literature of the Evangelical Right: cognitive modesty, or sensitivity to the limitations of human knowing; faithful, principled compromise and political realism; servant-leadership; consensus-building by appeal primarily to general revelation; and recognition of the limited spiritual authority and capability of government. More specific recommendations arising from these principles include:

- Use scriptural references more judiciously and stop using messianic rhetoric to describe and motivate the movement. Appeal instead primarily to general revelation; the term "commonsense public values" would be a good one to add to "traditional" and "Judeo-Christian" values. Effective commonsense arguments can be made for every Evangelical Right agenda item. Sparing use of Scripture can be effective in illustrating a point, but let God's Word speak for itself. Don't preach it or use it argumentatively; the hearers are not likely to change their opinions of the authority of Scripture based on its use in a political statement.
- Keep discussion of "spiritual warfare" to a minimum in political communications. After all, spiritual warfare is conducted primarily through prayer, evangelism, and ministry, not politics. And calling opponents ungodly usually backfires. So does referring to "secular humanism" as an established religion, an argument that falls on deaf ears outside the Religious Right. Don't exaggerate anti-Christian bias; given the freedom of religion, the proliferation of religious broadcasters, and the rapid growth of evangelical churches in America, indiscriminate charges of persecution against Christians can jeopardize credibility.
- Calm down fund-raising communications, which are too often inflammatory and apocalyptic, thus setting the wrong rhetorical tone for grass-roots activists, who often repeat in public what they read in these letters, to their causes' detriment. (According to some letters, western civilization should have ended several times by now.) Many managers of direct mail fund-raising still speak of the need to appeal to the emotions of anger, fear, and guilt in order to generate response. But the most effec-

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tive Evangelical Right nonprofits in the long run will be those that operate on the assumption that their activists are spiritually mature, and can be motivated by the obligations of responsible citizenship, compassion and love for one's neighbor, and stewardship of traditional American values.

As Charles Colson puts it in a recent article, "Don't Swing That Bible," in Focus on the Family's *Citizen*: "A broken world will see either our faces twisted in hate and anger or the face of Christ, listening, serving, speaking the truth in love." In that same issue readers are advised to avoid "Christianese," such as, "The Lord told me to attend this protest and call lawmakers to repentance and righteousness"; to avoid inflammatory and derogatory language, such as describing homosexuals as "perverts"; and to "display love for your neighbor, the media, and the opposition through kind gestures."

Pilgrims' Progress

◦ Make tactical compromises in order to achieve longer-term objectives. For example, pro-lifers' plans to target maximum achievable pro-life legislation, state by state, will save some lives right away; they will also turn the legislative and public relations momentum in the movement's favor and perhaps eventually lead the public to support a comprehensive ban. A pro-life candidate who wants both to be elected and to be faithful to his or her principles may find it useful to refer to the final will of the people as the sovereign in making major policy decisions. When, in advocating an intermediate position on abortion, the candidate is asked the inevitable question, whether there should be a ban, he or she might respond, "Yes, I believe there should be a ban, and as state legislator I hope to lead the people to that same conclusion. Ultimately, though, the people will decide this question, not me. Right now the people of our state are undecided about the most fundamental question, whether to ban, but they are decidedly pro-life on these intermediate positions I am proposing. During this term these are the measures I will be advocating." This approach allows the honesty and straightforwardness the electorate expects, while placing the accountability for the decision where it belongs in a representative democracy, with the people.

The central challenge for the Evangelical Right is to move from cultural isolation to cultural leadership.

◦ Seek courteous exchanges of ideas with potential allies and even opponents on key issues. These exchanges could take place both in private, or in public, say, in conferences, seminars, or debates, or in guest appearances on evangelical TV and radio talk shows. If conservative Evangelicals have confidence in their ideas, they should not fear testing them in frank, but respectful, public exchanges. The public requires this kind of debate in order to make good decisions.

Conservative Evangelicals should appeal primarily to general, not special, revelation in political arguments.

◦ Reach out to the large number of Americans who morally oppose abortion but presently believe that it should remain partly or mostly legal. Certainly, there are no possibilities for cooperation with the radical leadership of pro-abortion organizations, but joint efforts to discourage abortions and provide alternatives to them may be possible with this "middle" group. For example, many Americans not yet willing to embrace the ultimate pro-life goal of a comprehensive ban on abortion may be prepared to join pro-lifers in working the pro-adoption principle into pregnancy counseling, sponsoring support services for unwed mothers who place their babies for adoption, discouraging abortion in sex education, or promoting pre- and post-natal health services for low-income mothers. Many would also support limited rollback measures, such as banning gender-selection and post-viability abortions, banning taxpayer funding, and requiring professional standards of medical hygiene at abortion facilities. Perhaps most important, pro-lifers and this middle group could voice common opposition to abortion, thus strengthening cultural sanctions against the practice, regardless of its legal status.

◦ Work overtime building the ranks of conservatives in local and state parties. The frontlines for most Evangelical Right issues are in campaigns for state legislator.

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For success in these campaigns, it is just as important that conservative Evangelicals serve the public on local tax, law enforcement, infrastructure, and environmental issues as on the moral and pro-family issues. It is also important to play hardball—targeting liberal incumbents in state legislatures much as the National Conservative Political Action Committee did so successfully with Congress in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

• Whether Democrats or Republicans, conservative Evangelical activists should support their party's nominees whenever possible, but *always* get something in exchange. Even when the nominee is a moderate, a decent-sized conservative constituency still has the opportunity to negotiate commitments from him or her that, if implemented, would incrementally move certain key policies in the right direction. If local conservative Evangelical leaders go to the candidate shortly after the nomination and offer their support in exchange for certain realistic, politically viable, minimum positions on their three or four top priority issues, they may still be able to make progress toward their goals.

Temporarily settling for less than the ideal policy, but moving incrementally toward the ultimate goal, can represent moral progress and an act of faith in God.

• When organizing in political parties, Evangelical Right activists should not overemphasize their faith. Setting up as the "Christian bloc" essentially requires all other party activists to make a choice for or against the bloc. The "Christian" label discourages potential non-Evangelical coalition partners from joining and offends other Christians who resent the commandeering of the term. It also promotes rigid factions. This segregation could lead to conservative Evangelicals' being relegated to the status of a special interest group, rather than having their people and ideas ultimately accepted and assimilated into party leadership and direction. The most relevant concerns in developing political relationships are potential coalition partners' reliability and views on issues, not their faith. This doesn't mean Evangelical activists should hide their faith or abandon their personal evangelistic responsibility. Nor is there any reason they should refrain from using whatever lists or networks are available for recruiting volunteers and delegates, including church lists.

• Look for opportunities to build coalitions with black Evangelicals. Useful issues include privatizing public housing, abstinence-based sex education and opposition to school-based clinics (most of which are going into poor, minority neighborhoods, often against parents' wishes), and educational choice for inner-city kids, so they can get a decent education and work their way out of the ghetto, or better yet, help revive it. This latter issue appears to blend black and white Evangelicals' interests particularly well, especially given the courageous leadership of black state legislator Polly Williams, who is bringing education vouchers to Milwaukee. Williams would make an excellent guest on evangelical TV and radio talk shows.

• Continue the trend toward decentralized leadership. A movement whose fate is closely tied to the fate of one or two individuals is vulnerable; one person is easier for adversaries to pick off than an entire movement. Moreover, the highest priority issues for the Evangelical Right are state and local issues; the kind of social and moral change conservative Evangelicals are looking for is only going to happen from the ground up, not the top down.

Onward Christian Citizens

When Jerry Falwell shut down Moral Majority he was criticized for saying its work was done; obviously the policymaking work of the Evangelical Right is incomplete. He was right, though, in saying, "We have raised up a generation of fighters and leaders and activists." The organization had outlived its usefulness; the political baggage it carried made it an easy target for opponents to use to perpetuate a negative stereotype of Evangelicals. Moral Majority—and Pat Robertson's presidential campaign—can be likened to the grains of wheat that had to fall to the ground and die, in order to bring forth new life. Both were flawed, but in the end both served the vital purposes of reviving the spirit of citizenship in a disaffected people and training their followers in the school of hard political knocks. Conservative Evangelicals can yet be the cultural leaders, the salt, light, and fruitful grain, they are called to be, but only by persistently applying the lessons of the '80s. "Servant-leadership" may not have the dramatic ring that a "moral crusade" for political power does, but it is the true call of Christian citizenship.

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In Search Of Educational Excellence

Business Leaders Discuss School Choice and Accountability

G. Carl Ball, Jerry Hume, Sam H. Ingram, David T. Kearns, Tom Peters, Donald J. Roberts, Thomas F. Roeser

In February 1990, following up on their Education Summit with President Bush last year, the country's governors adopted six national goals (and related objectives) for elementary and secondary education by the year 2000:

1) By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn.

2) By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

3) By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography. In addition, every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they will be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

4) By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in mathematics and science achievement.

5) By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

6) By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

In the following symposium, several American business leaders answer four questions about the governors' goals:

What are the best ways to hold teachers, principals, and other education officials accountable for performance in helping to meet the governors' goals?

How important are public school choice and/or voucher programs in meeting these goals?

What (other) structural reforms would you suggest are most important for meeting these goals?

Is more money needed in elementary and secondary education to meet these goals? If not, what are the most important ways existing resources should be redirected?

G. Carl Ball

The first and most important step in problem-solving is the setting of realistic and measurable goals. I am therefore pleased that President Bush and the governors have enumerated six national goals and objectives for elementary and secondary education by the year 2000. Perhaps we will not agree on all of the goals, but it's a good first cut.

But let's not get too comfortable; goals, and the vision they reflect, are a necessary but not sufficient component of any successful venture. Strategic planning and marketing are crucial, and so is accountability based on informed evaluation of how well goals are met. Most important is research and development.

The great advances of our society are the products of research—from jet engines to computers to life-saving pharmaceuticals. Research certainly plays an essential role in the growth of my own business of vegetable and flower seeds. By contrast, research has had very little impact on education. The little research that is conducted on education is rarely used, or even read. This is a major reason why the American education system has failed to keep up with the major changes in the workplace, student needs, and technology. Only one-tenth of 1 percent of the money spent on education is allocated to research. Not only do we need much more money for research, we need to concentrate more resources on disseminating and refining research results. We already know how to teach reading to children of varying backgrounds. A great deal of research was done 30 years ago in curriculum design and teacher training for "new math." But only the smallest fraction of this research reaches teachers and other school officials.

Public school choice, if administered correctly, will provide the customer (in this case, parents) the opportunity to evaluate the competition and make an informed decision. This should, ultimately, compel all public schools to become more market sensitive and market

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driven, and thus superior. School choice will also help school administrators to better understand the true education needs of the community. The competitive way is not the comfortable way, but it yields results for society.

Will public school choice and/or voucher programs help us meet the six national goals? I don't know. Despite extensive press coverage, I haven't read much solid, methodologically sound research on the advantages of choice programs or, for that matter, on the disadvantages. We need a systematic series of studies on the effectiveness of choice programs. Only after such findings are available and the choice process has been fine-tuned can a consumer become an informed decision-maker.

Mr. Ball is president and chairman of George J. Ball & Co., a vegetable and flower seed firm based in West Chicago, Illinois.

Jerry Hume

Since the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, there have been more than 300 studies identifying problems and posing solutions to the crisis in education. Yet, despite all these studies, our education system has not improved. In the past seven years, we have tried to reform the schools through a variety of means, primarily through spending and regulation. But this has not been enough. Even if we could spend all the money we want on education, we would not be able to meet the governors' goals until we recognized that accountability and competition are fundamental to reform.

National standards are essential for accountability. We are unique among industrialized nations in not having a national exam evaluating the performance of students completing their secondary education. Japan has its high school exam, Germany its abitur, France its baccalaureate. If we want to see how our high school students are really doing, we need similar national standards.

Currently, most parents are not aware of the poor performance of their children's schools. In fact, according to a recent Gallup poll, most parents indicate that they are satisfied with their schools and think their children are doing well. They believe other schools have problems, but theirs does not. Another poll indicated that education ranked 11th as a concern of Californians.

It is odd that parents are so complacent about their children's schools, when so many of those schools fail to educate. Seven hundred thousand kids drop out of school each year. An additional 700,000 who complete their education do not have the reading skills necessary for the average job. Obviously, something must be wrong with our nation's educational system.

Parents cannot see the problem because current grading practices do not judge their children's performance in relation to national standards. The report card is the only evaluation parents see, and all it does is compare one child to other children in his class. In short, there is no national perspective at the local level.

The adoption of national standards and performance-based tests means moving away from unit and credit-hour systems, now used to document and record nearly all educational experiences in secondary education. The unit and credit-hour systems measure time devoted to studying a particular subject. Teachers determine the level of competence by grades. Standards, including requirements for passing, vary from teacher to teacher. The inconsistency of these systems leaves little leeway for comparison between schools across the country.

Four years of English does not necessarily mean the same thing at school A as it does at school B. One school does not necessarily require the same reading and writing skills for its graduates as another. Unless you can judge the performance of school A versus school B against national norms, there is no vehicle for evaluating comparative performance of students.

A national assessment would provide a benchmark for judging whether a school has attained a particular level of competency. It would eliminate inconsistencies by establishing the same instruments and standards for all schools. With such national documentation, parents could evaluate their children's schools in relation to others across the country.

A related goal of educational reform should be to increase parental choice in order to make the school systems more responsive. Public education is the only American institution we pay on the basis of attendance and not on performance. In almost every other aspect of American life, the consumer is able to choose a product or service he wants. Even in government programs such as Medicare or food stamps the consumer decides which doctor he sees and which groceries he buys. By contrast, a low-income parent has no choice except to send his child to the local public school, whose finances depend on how many students it has, and not on how well they achieve. This system doesn't hold anyone accountable for performance.

Get bureaucrats, administrators, and their overblown, over-complicated, and over-centralized techniques off the backs of teachers. Let the teachers teach. Then hold them accountable to an empowered principal and an engaged community.

—Tom Peters

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The state of Wisconsin has already taken a big step in this direction. Recently, the legislature passed, and Governor Tommy Thompson signed into law, a bill that allows the state to provide vouchers for 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students that they can use to attend private, nonsectarian schools. State Representative Polly Williams, a Democrat from inner-city Milwaukee, sponsored the new voucher plan. Both Thompson and Williams believe that more than 1,000 children will apply for these vouchers this year, and they hope to be able to offer additional slots in the future.

A well-educated citizenry is essential for our future. Currently, the schools are not doing a satisfactory job preparing our students to be good citizens or good providers. Educational accountability and parental choice are the most important ways to meet the governors' goals.

Mr. Hume is chairman of Basic American Foods in San Francisco. His comments are adapted from an article in the newsletter Philanthropy.

Sam H. Ingram

The governors' goals sound good, but I'm not sure they are realistic. It would be great if every adult in the year 2000 were literate and possessed the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy. But there is no way this can be achieved by the turn of the century. Some of the goals are also contradictory.

National standards are essential for accountability. We are unique among industrialized nations in not having a national exam evaluating the performance of students completing their secondary education.

—Jerry Hume

The goal of higher test scores, for instance, is in conflict with the goal of a higher graduation rate, because dropouts usually have lower academic achievement. The easiest way to raise test scores is to run the low-scoring students away from school.

Every study shows that the key person in an effective school is the principal. A good principal can turn a mediocre school into a good school in three years if he or she has the freedom to allocate resources within his or her school, to replace non-performing teachers, and, even more important, to redirect resources so as to turn discouraged teachers into highly motivated ones. But all too many school boards allow ineffective principals to remain in their jobs. It is essential for school boards to set up goals for each school, to give the principal the flexibility he needs in meeting those goals, and to replace him if the goals aren't met.

Accountability is also important for teachers and students. Every teacher should set goals for every student, ideally with the involvement of parents and the student himself. As with principals, teachers should be given flexibility in meeting the goals, but student progress should be monitored on a weekly, monthly, and yearly basis. It should become a matter of pride for students when they achieve their goals.

The problem I see with parental choice is that the best schools will have long waiting lists, and only the most influential parents will be able to get their kids in. Choice doesn't do anything for the other kids.

Instead, for problem schools, we need to offer a private alternative to public education. The time has come to see whether private companies can operate schools more effectively and cost-efficiently than the government. The private sector has a long history of clearly identifying and achieving specific objectives. If a school board has failed to achieve its goals for a particular school, it should consider contracting with a private company, on a renewable basis, to see whether it might better meet those goals. The school would still be public, and would still have to meet all the regulations for other public schools. It just would be run by a private company.

Some of the goals of the governors—for example, pre-school education, adult literacy, and school safety—will require more money, because these objectives are not generally funded now. But money is no guarantee of quality in education. What is most important is the ability to attract well-educated, highly motivated teachers and principals, and to hold them accountable while giving them the flexibility they need to do their jobs.

Mr. Ingram is president of the Education Enterprises of America. He has served as Tennessee Commissioner of Education and as president of Middle Tennessee State University.

David T. Kearns

The governor's goals—endorsed by the White House—are laudable. Indeed, they are necessary; but they are not sufficient. They are necessary for the most obvious reasons: a great democracy, to remain great, must dedicate itself to transcendent purposes. Living for the present is poor economics and worse politics. Goals, then, are essential.

But we need more than goals—we need the right goals, and two other goals must be added if the first six are to have any meaning. Both are equally important:

1) Every child in America must have an "advocate," a mentor, a responsible adult who shows he cares by acting on the child's behalf. Most successful adults have had such an advocate, and while an advocate does not guarantee success, the absence of one increases the risk

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of failure. Middle-class children from intact households have such advocates at home, but all children must have them if they are to have the opportunity to succeed.

2) Education must increase its "productivity"; we must get more education for the dollar. Not just to squeeze more out of the system—although that is not unimportant—but to demonstrate that good education is worth paying for. Business leaders know that these two ideas are related; unfortunately, educators do not. The public will support "productive" education willingly; it is reluctant to support unproductive education.

"Productive" education requires measures of student performance that indicate the extent to which they are successful; such measures must be responsible and widely agreed to. To borrow a term from the business world, schools must learn how to "benchmark"; they must know what their competition is doing and how well they are doing it.

Our best schools must compare themselves with the best in the world, as well as with each other. And our weakest schools—too often schools in the central city—must compare themselves with schools from which they can learn. It serves no one's purposes for failing inner-city schools to compare themselves with the privileged schools of the suburbs; neither learns nor benefits from the comparison. The purpose of comparison is not to hold people or institutions up to shame or praise for its own sake, but to inspire greater performance and to reward truly significant gains. By these standards, a "high performing school" is one that does more than comparably situated schools.

Choice is central to meeting the governors' goals; parents and students must be free to choose among schools that satisfy their academic and normative demands. Choice is not an end in itself, but an instrument through which personal dignity and high standards can be found—for teachers as well as students. Choice creates voluntary communities of scholarship and shared values, increasing the certainty that high standards will be set and met.

Choice is not just a matter of competition—although that is important—choice is also a matter of willing and enthusiastic cooperation and collaboration.

Interestingly, the most important structural reform to meet these goals is to change the supply side, decentralize to the building level, and let teachers and principals design and operate their own schools. Call them what you like: teachers' coops, teachers' collaboratives, teacher ESOPs (employee stock ownership plans). Teachers must be able to play from their strengths, take risks, and be rewarded for accomplishment. To do so, they must become real professionals. And the hallmark of the learned professions is choice; professionals choose their calling, the terms and conditions of work, and, perhaps most important, they are chosen by their clients.

Unfortunately, much money may be needed to accomplish these objectives, not because reform is historically costly, but because "buying" reform is the American way. Every reform in the history of American education has been added to the existing superstructure.

That need not be the case. A program of radical decentralization to the building level—teacher- and parent-run schools, for example—together with consumer choice will produce significant economies over time.

Excellence is a constantly moving target, in business and in education. It can never be achieved but must always be the goal: this is the existential challenge, but one we must set for ourselves.

Mr. Kearns is chairman of Xerox Corp.

Tom Peters

The United States has hardly regained the initiative when it comes to global competitiveness. But progress was phenomenal during the '80s, given the $5 trillion size of our elephantine economy. Change came chiefly in response to three forces: 1) white-hot competition from overseas; 2) the raiders and other elements of the financial community, which called slovenly managements to account; and 3) the unleashing of an unprecedented wave of entrepreneurs. These three forces boil down to one—competition. The re-potting of corporate America in response to competition also can be boiled down to one word, decentralization: although it is manifest in a number of ways—management-led buyouts of single-business operations; slashing and then slashing again at bloated corporate overheads; and empowering front-line workers to get on with the job of making, improving, and servicing the product.

Every child in America must have an "advocate," a mentor, a responsible adult who shows he cares by acting on the child's behalf.

—David T. Kearns

The solution to our education problem must follow roughly the same course. School systems and schools don't teach. Teachers do. Get bureaucrats, administrators, and their overblown, over-complicated, and over-centralized techniques off the backs of classroom teachers. Ask our teachers to teach. Let the teachers teach. Then hold the teachers accountable—to an empowered principal and an engaged community, but not via national standardized test scores (for students or teachers) or adherence to the likes of centrally mandated lesson-planning standards.

Sadly, I see no straightforward, politically palatable way to make this dream of classroom autonomy/accountability come true. Money is not an issue; we already spend a fortune overall. Bang for the buck, not the depth of the wallet, is the point. Public school choice is a good

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tool, a surrogate for competition. But it's not the panacea proponents claim. Moreover, the political odds of it taking the nation by storm are low. If we expend all of our moral and political energy on choice, we are likely to be sorely disappointed.

If I were czar (not education czar, but the real thing), I would begin by mandating a public school administrator-to-student ratio that mirrored the parochial school ratio—thus wiping out in one swoop over 90 percent of today's central education bureaucrats. (In New York City a couple of years back, the administrator-to-student ratio was 60 times higher in the public system.) Such a move is as important for the schools' healthy futures as similar moves are in corporate America. I'd also strictly limit maximum school size to 350 students; as successful experiments with multiple, independent schools in one big building suggest, this need not be a call for widespread urban-school demolition.

Given the impracticality of my advice so far, I'll fall back on the answer to public sector woes proposed by James Q. Wilson in his masterly *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It.* Experimentation is Wilson's plea. Lots of it. My translation for schools: Every form of moral, political, and financial suasion imaginable should be used to encourage and support any and all, wacky or not, attempts to decentralize the school system and put accountability—and attendant respect—directly on the back of the classroom teacher. (And to a lesser, but important, extent, the principal.)

In recent, path-breaking research on decision-making in perpetually stressful situations (aircraft carrier operations, nuclear power plants), University of California management professor Karlene Roberts concludes, "Men who experience a great deal of accountability make accurate decisions." Decentralization and accountability are the two key words for a bright future for classroom education. Really making this happen is a lot more important than another photo op or two at Charlottesville followed by a mindless proclamation about the desirability of surpassing Korean youth in rote math test scores.

Mr. Peters, co-author of In Search of Excellence, *runs the Tom Peters Group in Palo Alto, California.*

Donald J. Roberts

Choice of schools for parents is absolutely essential to the achievement of the governors' education goals. Choice will allow parents and students to determine which schools are best for them. Competition will improve education, as the public avoids the poor classrooms and moves to those with the best results. Educators will be forced to give their best efforts or else they'll have no pupils to teach, and thus no positions.

Poor but capable students will be permitted to choose the best school for their particular needs. Wisconsin recently passed a law, pushed by State Representative Polly Williams, that goes in the right direction. The Wisconsin plan gives 1,000 low-income boys and girls a $2,500 voucher to pay tuition at private non-sectarian schools.

Public school educators can be held accountable for student performance when management information systems are set up to compare dollars, talent, and effort expended in each classroom with the results achieved. Efficient management information programs, in the hands of chief administrators and knowledgeable, courageous board members, will facilitate excellent management and leadership, long missing in so many American schools. Weak, ineffective teachers will be identified and removed from contact with students; poor teaching materials recognized and replaced with proven productive learning tools; and outdated teaching techniques and methods will be identified and updated.

Additionally, teacher, principal, and administrator accountability will be fully attained only when elected board members become more aware of the elements of excellence in education. Board members, the policymakers, must learn about pupil testing and achievement, and what is essential to the highest accomplishments in these bottom-line results of school work. The weakest links in the American chain of poor public school performance may well be ill-prepared, poorly educated, shortsighted, parochial-minded, weak-willed local board members.

One structural reform critical to improving schools is changing the way we educate and train school principals. So many weaknesses in American schools today are directly related to the lack of leadership skills possessed by those in leader-manager roles. Colleges of education must prepare and teach new courses on educational leadership for principals. Important principles include 1) knowing one's strong and weak points; 2) knowing one's subordinates and being concerned about their well-being; 3) keeping subordinates informed; 4) setting the example for staff and faculty; 5) insuring that tasks are understood, supervised, and completed; 6) training faculty as a team; 7) making sound and timely decisions; 8) developing a sense of responsibility among school staff and faculty; and 9) accepting responsibility for one's actions. Schools would be far more efficient today if most administrators practiced these principles.

The weakest links in the American chain of poor public school performance may well be ill-prepared, poorly educated, shortsighted, parochial-minded, weak-willed local board members.

—Donald J. Roberts

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Another area of school leader preparation should be training principals to measure their leadership skills within their schools. Some measurement elements are: school morale, school esprit-de-corps, school discipline, and student achievement. These measurement guides should also be used by chief administrators and board members.

More money will be needed by some schools to establish full management information systems to meet the governors' goals. Some schools may be able to redirect certain current resources without new funds.

Colleges of education certainly can use dollars now going to outdated human development courses for developing full, modern leadership curricula for principals and administrators.

Mr. Roberts is regional manager for state governmental relations in Ohio for Ashland Oil, Co.

Thomas F. Roeser

The statist, top-down bureaucratic controls found in virtually every piece of so-called accountability legislation across the country are not the way to meet the governors' goals. Like any other government monopoly, the education establishment is impervious to substantive reform from within. Even if you build in such sanctions as academic and financial receivership, and put the oversight authority elsewhere than with the chief state school officer (for example, with the auditor general), the basic causes of our educational crisis will not be addressed.

As John Chubb and Terry Moe point out in their iconoclastic new study for the Brookings Institution, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*, the schools' most fundamental problems are rooted in the very institutions of democratic control by which they are governed. Despite all the talk about "restructuring," Chubb and Moe conclude, the current wave of grab-bag reforms leaves those institutions intact and in charge.

The genuine results and accountability we in business and the Education Summit participants are seeking can come only from hundreds of thousands of decentralized marketplace decisions made by families as consumers truly "empowered" with scholarships (vouchers), tuition tax credits, or tax rebates to take their kids to whatever school (private or public) they think will best educate their children.

The market will best allocate our already generous but finite education resources to yield academic achievement as a return on our fiscal investment. Educational choice, then, is not only the best but the only way to move this country toward the six national goals that came out of the Education Summit. Isn't it ironic (and dismaying) that the summit document is silent on choice?

Public school choice, that is, choice limited to government education-providers, won't get us to where we want to be by the year 2000. Public school choice is like saying now you may go to any post office, not just to your neighborhood post office, but you can't go to Federal Express or to United Parcel Service or to any of the postal service's competitors, even though they often deliver better service at a much lower cost.

No, vouchers or their equivalent (tuition tax credits or tax rebates) are what we need for real accountability, for real competition, for real local-school autonomy, for real family-empowerment, for real equity, and for real fiscal responsibility.

Genuine educational choice as I've described it will begin to free the captive demand side of the public-education monopoly. But the artificially restricted supply side must be loosened up, too. In New Jersey, for example, former Governor Thomas Kean's alternative teacher certification program showed how to solve the so-called teacher shortage by relaxing barriers to entry caused by state credentialing requirements. And, for those in business who take teacher professionalism seriously, I urge you to look into the entrepreneurial new American Association of Educators in Private Practice.

More money is not the answer. We've got to redirect our tax dollars from the producers to the consumers of education. We've got to substitute market for monopoly control.

—Thomas F. Roeser

Business should also consider getting behind such grass-roots, market-based initiatives as State Representative Polly Williams' historic Milwaukee Parental Choice (voucher) Plan, Oregonians for Educational Choice and their tuition tax credit initiative, the voucher plan of the Right to Learn Committee in Louisiana, and the City Club of Chicago's national parental-choice coalition, TEACH America.

More money is not the answer. We've got to rethink the public-education paradigm, to shift it. We've got to redirect our tax dollars from the producers to the consumers of education. We've got to substitute market for monopoly control. That's where business, more than any other stakeholder, should be leveraging education policy.

If we in business don't close ranks and insist on this radical reform, and do this very soon, I say to President Bush and the governors, forget it. By the year 2000 we'll be even further behind in the international education standings than we are now.

Mr. Roeser is president of the City Club of Chicago, a leading business civic association.

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The Grapes of Roth-Kemp

Tax Cuts Ended the Carter Malaise

Senator Willliam V. Roth

Thirteen years ago, then-Representative Jack Kemp and I introduced a bill to cut tax rates across the board for individuals and businesses. In a modified form, Roth-Kemp became the basis for President Reagan's Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.

There were three principal reasons why Representative Kemp and I introduced our bill. Each proved correct in the 1980s, and each is relevant to the budget debate this year.

First, we wanted to restore economic growth. We argued that economic growth should be one of the central concerns of fiscal policy, and that lower taxes were essential to ending the stagflation of the Carter years.

Second, we thought it was possible to increase revenues from certain segments of our economy by lowering tax rates and thus decreasing the attraction of tax shelters.

Third, we saw an opportunity to make the tax code fairer in its burden.

Economic Growth

By the end of the 1970s, the American economy was mired in stagflation, the combination of stagnation and inflation. Interest rates were sky high, unemployment was rising, and the accelerating inflation pushed taxpayers into higher tax brackets all the more quickly. The overall economic situation was well described by then-President Carter as "malaise."

The relentless increase in the tax burden of the average American was suffocating the economy. To an extent seldom realized today, the inflation of the late 1960s and 1970s had radically changed the impact of the personal income tax. Whereas in the mid-1960s about 2.6 percent of taxpayers filing jointly faced marginal tax rates above 28 percent, by 1980, 35 percent of such taxpayers found themselves in this situation.

By reducing citizens' after-tax return, such high tax rates reduced the incentive to work, save, and invest. This, in turn, curbed the flow of resources into production, depressing output. Probably the most important goal of the Roth-Kemp tax cuts was to reverse this slide, and restore incentives for people and companies to make money and invest for the future.

A fundamental premise of the Roth-Kemp tax cuts was that the most important engine of economic growth is the private sector. Government has important responsibilities, but economic growth, innovation, and progress are qualities that do not originate in the federal bureaucracy. Rather, these qualities come from workers, managers, entrepreneurs, and professionals in private businesses. Because we focused on the productive side of the economy, our strategy was often called "supply side" economics. Our goal was to increase the supply of goods and services by increasing the incentives to produce them.

The economic benefits of across-the-board tax cuts had been demonstrated by the Mellon tax cuts in the 1920s and by the Kennedy tax cuts of the 1960s. They were demonstrated again when the aptly named Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) was enacted in August 1981. As the first major installment of the tax cut took effect in 1982, the economy started to rebound from the downturn. Roth-Kemp had laid the groundwork for the longest peacetime expansion in American history.

With a return to noninflationary economic growth, median family income bounced back from the declines sparked during the Carter years, climbing 12 percent after adjustments for inflation. U.S. job growth outpaced that of all the advanced economies combined, while the unemployment rate plunged to its lowest level in 15 years. Investment and construction surged, and manufacturing productivity paved the way for stronger export performance.

The strong economic performance of the United States led the world out of the recession. Great Britain, Sweden, Japan, Canada, Australia, and other countries followed our lead with dramatic tax reform. More than any other force, the economic performance of Western democracies in the 1980s, in contrast to the stagnation of the Communist world, led to the fall of the Iron Curtain, and to perestroika in the Soviet Union.

Today we are once again approaching economic

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"malaise," perhaps on the verge of recession. The prospect of higher energy prices gives no encouragement to a private sector worried that the longest peacetime economic expansion in history may be coming to an end. It is critically important now to focus on the central goal of fiscal policy—to sustain economic growth. We also must not forget the lessons of the 1980s—the strategic key to growth is economic incentives for individuals who make it happen, and that means keeping tax rates low and reducing the weight of government on the economy.

Increased Revenues

Although Roth-Kemp provided tax relief and slowed revenue growth somewhat in static terms, personal income tax revenues as well as overall federal revenues doubled between 1980 and 1990.

Total tax receipts have grown from $517 billion in FY1980 to an estimated $1.044 trillion in FY1990. Income tax payments by individuals have grown from $244 billion to $476 billion in the same period. The deficits that dominate our attention today arose only because congressional spending—$1.263 billion in FY1990, up from $591 billion in 10 years—increased at an even faster pace than did tax revenues.

The dynamic effect of lower tax rates was powerfully demonstrated in 1979, when the capital gains rate was reduced and government revenue from the sale and exchange of property surged. This surge was due to the essentially voluntary nature of capital movements: owners don't move investments to new opportunities unless they come out ahead after taxes. Lower tax rates therefore encourage shifting of investments, making the capital markets more liquid and dynamic. Not only are there more capital transactions paying taxes, but capital itself finds more efficient applications, stimulating increases in wages and consumer demand as well.

The 1981 tax cuts also led to an increase in the share of taxes paid by the higher income groups. People with incomes of more than $50,000 in constant 1988 dollars paid 63 percent of personal income taxes in 1988, up from 43 percent in 1981. A more dynamic economy provided greater upward mobility for workers, particularly those whose careers were advancing. And lower marginal tax rates encouraged individuals to focus on earning income rather than sheltering it from taxation.

Fairness

Without the 1981 tax cuts, the average American family would now pay $1,500 more in income taxes every year. When critics attack the 1981 legislation, what they are really saying is that the average American should be paying $1,500 extra in federal income taxes annually. No wonder the criticism of the tax cut has failed to attract much taxpayer support.

Critics of the Roth-Kemp approach to tax rates argue that the rich should pay more, as a necessary principle of fairness or equity. But the rich *are* paying more. The real issue of "fairness" in the minds of those who propose higher tax rates is the belief that it is unfair for some people to have higher incomes than others. This is the "equality of outcomes" concept of fairness, in contrast to the "equality of opportunity" concept of fairness to which most Americans adhere.

The central issue of fairness ought to be the classical concept that people have a right to work hard and to the greatest degree possible shape their own future. Success is a virtue that deserves to be rewarded. An obsession with income redistribution rather than commitment to economic growth will doom the American people to lower living standards and malaise. There is no "fairness" in such a bleak prospect. Higher taxation is not the way to build a better future for our children and grandchildren. We cannot tax ourselves into prosperity.

Instead, we must look to the future with a commitment to market incentives and removing the remaining tax barriers to economic growth. This means curtailing the double taxation of saving to reverse our counterproductive policy toward thrift, and reducing the capital gains tax rate to provide tax incentives for investment, entrepreneurship, and risk. It also means returning the major share of any defense savings in coming years to the taxpayers by reducing income tax rates.

A fundamental premise of Roth-Kemp was that the most important engine of economic growth is the private sector.

Inability to Control Spending

While the 1980s showed us what worked, they also indicated what doesn't work. In particular, Congress failed to control its own spending even amidst recurring "budget crises."

The successful part of the fiscal policy of the 1980s was our tax strategy. The unsuccessful part was controlling spending. Institutional reform of congressional procedures is therefore essential.

It would be tragic in the 1990s if we reverted to the errors of the 1970s. Then the economy was strangled by an ever-increasing public sector, diminishing incentives for work, savings, and investment, and a mounting tax burden that demoralized the population. Tax increases today would bring us back to the stagflation of the 1970s. They must be strongly resisted.

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Razing Arizona

How Phoenix Taxpayers Derailed an $8-Billion Transit System

John Semmens and Dianne Kresich

Political wisdom says "you can't fight city hall." Based on our personal experience in Phoenix, Arizona, this "wisdom" may not be so wise. In March 1989, voters in Maricopa County, which encompasses the Phoenix metropolitan area, rejected ValTrans—an $8-billion transit plan strongly backed by city and state government—by a 61-to-39 percent margin.

The proponents of ValTrans were well-financed, well-publicized, and well-known. The list of backers reads like a who's who of local celebrities, including the governor, all the local mayors, all but one city council in the region, the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, all the television stations, and all the daily newspapers. Their campaign, which was lavishly financed, spent over $1.2 million on slick brochures, traveling road shows, television advertising, and get-out-the-vote phone banks. The opposition, frequently derided by the transit proponents as a bunch of nobodies, spent less than $25,000 on the campaign against ValTrans.

A newspaper poll published less than two months before the March 28 special election showed voters favoring the proposal by a 2-to-1 ratio. After election day, a stunned ValTrans campaign manager observed that "a handful of guerrillas massacred an army of mayors, transportation experts, professional consultants, and dedicated volunteers who spent over $1 million to sell a concept that started out to be popular with the voters."

How did we pull it off?

Birth of a Bad Idea

From its inception in January 1986, the Arizona Regional Public Transit Authority (RPTA) was determined to inflict rail transit on Phoenix. RPTA's 30-year, $8-billion plan called for the construction of a 103-mile light rail system as well as the quadrupling of the number of buses. A board of directors, composed of the mayors of Phoenix and six surrounding suburbs, unanimously endorsed the RPTA plan, hiring the director of Vancouver, Canada's 13-mile elevated light rail transit system to oversee RPTA's much larger imitation.

Ostensibly, local residents had the opportunity to gain input into the ValTrans plan through a series of 200 public meetings conducted by RPTA. However, these poorly publicized and sparsely attended sessions could be more aptly characterized as "RPTA output" than "public input" opportunities. Lengthy, mind-numbing presentations by RPTA staff or hired consultants were followed by a few moments of praise from self-selected audiences of rail buffs. The only criticisms that RPTA acknowledged were those that rebuked the plan for being insufficiently grandiose.

RPTA published a monthly newsletter dedicated to self-congratulatory commentary, claiming that consensus and support for this "best of all possible plans" had been attained. Meanwhile, the media coverage of ValTrans amounted to little more than boosterism. With much fanfare, the press was touting a contest to design a logo for the new train, even though the voters had yet to vote on the tax to fund the plan.

In September 1988, our advocacy group, the Laissez Faire Institute (LFI), published an opinion piece in the *Phoenix Gazette* questioning whether we should adopt the plan and the tax. After our article appeared, a few citizens contacted LFI to seek more information about the ValTrans proposal. Some of these neighborhood activists had attended RPTA meetings on the plan, and had been frustrated by the vague answers to their questions. Discussions with these activists led to the publication in late September of an LFI *Issue Brief*, "20 Questions About the ValTrans Plan." The *Issue Brief* examined the ValTrans draft plan in some detail and sought to generate discussion of its dubious claims. We circulated this paper to neighborhood groups and to the media. While there was no discernible effect on media coverage for many months, several neighborhood groups formed a coalition to oppose the plan.

The opposition, which took the name Voters Against Senseless Transit (VAST), acted as a conduit for infor-

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mation and analysis flowing from LFI to members of the community. A series of *Issue Briefs* probed the financial, traffic, and environmental impacts likely to follow from the proposed ValTrans system. The *Phoenix Gazette*, which supported ValTrans and had run numerous endorsements of the proposed transit system, published two of these nine papers as commentaries. Although the *Issue Briefs* were designed to deal specifically with ValTrans, most of the points made are relevant to rail transit systems operating in other cities.

The Unbearable Lightness of Rail Traffic

One of our most effective arguments was the poor financial performance of public transit systems elsewhere. There isn't a public transit system in any major city in America that comes close to paying for itself. According to the American Public Transit Association, the revenues from passenger fares covered the following percentages of total system costs in 1988 (the latest year for which figures are available) in these eight urban transit systems:

Atlanta, Georgia	19 percent
Baltimore, Maryland	36 percent
Buffalo, New York	29 percent
Miami, Florida	23 percent
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	26 percent
Portland, Oregon	22 percent
Sacramento, California	19 percent
Washington, D.C.	32 percent

Most of the difference between passenger revenues and operating costs has to be paid out of taxpayers' dollars. These transit models, which were held up for emulation by the promoters of ValTrans, are all financial drains on the communities forced to fund them.

Because passenger fares bear little relation to the actual operating costs of the system, economic comparisons based on those fares are misleading. The ValTrans plan called for riders to pay a fare of 70 cents—about 17 cents per passenger mile of travel. By comparison, the American Automobile Association estimated that an average cost per vehicle mile for a car would be around 32 cents. Based on such figures, ValTrans promoters advertised their system as an economical way to travel compared to the private automobile.

However, the real costs of public transport systems are far higher than their heavily subsidized fares would indicate. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the full cost per passenger mile for rail transit to be between $1.20 and $1.80. According to RPTA's own figures, which assumed a 600 percent increase in ridership, the ValTrans combination of expanded bus service and 103 miles of light rail transit would provide service at a full cost of $1.12 per passenger mile. The rail component itself was estimated to have a total cost per passenger mile of $1.60. On the other hand, the AAA's 32-cent-per-mile estimate for the cost of owning and operating a car is close to the real full cost (including highway construction and maintenance) of automobile transportation. Train rides are "bargains" for commuters only because taxpayers are paying up to 90 percent of the full cost. At best, rail transit provides inferior-quality service at a cost of about five times as much as owning and operating a car for the same trips.

The Phoenix Gazette/N. Engebretson

Phoenix's uncongested rush hour. ValTrans offered door-to-door travel of 45 minutes, compared with the average driver's 22-minute commute.

The ValTrans plan called for a capacity increase of 600 percent, going from the lightly patronized existing bus transit system's $25 million per year deficit to a huge rail and bus conglomerate with an average annual deficit of $280 million—an $8-billion loss over 30 years. According to the RPTA cash flow projection, the transit operations wouldn't even have covered their out-of-pocket expenses. Even with inflated ridership assumptions, ValTrans would have a net worth of *minus* $2.6 billion after 30 years.

All the evidence in the world detailing the wastefulness of public transit might have been for naught if Phoenix-area voters could have been persuaded that someone else's money would have been wasted. Fortunately, in the case of ValTrans, the Reagan administration's policy of no new rail transit funding removed the "something-for-nothing" arguments that have succeeded in many other communities. The best ValTrans proponents could do was to suggest that some future administrations might be less frugal.

Exaggerated Benefits

We argued further that ValTrans proponents grossly exaggerated the benefits of the rail system in terms of reduced traffic congestion, improved air quality, and service to the public-transit dependent.

Public transit is supposed to reduce traffic congestion by luring people out of their cars. But, as we pointed out, less than 1 percent of travel in Phoenix is served by the existing bus system. This low level of effect is not due to lack of capacity. On the contrary, the system has a great deal of excess capacity; most buses run nearly empty most of the time. Proponents of ValTrans argued, as have rail advocates in other cities, that this poor transit patronage was due to the limited extent of the service, in this case offering only 350 buses and no trains. The expansion promised by the ValTrans plan was supposed to remedy this supposed shortfall.

But such arguments flew in the face of the experience

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The Phoenix Gazette/M. Henle

Backers for the transit plan included the governor, the mayor, the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, and all the TV stations and daily newspapers. Only the voters objected.

of the public transit industry. In the past 30 years, while the population has increased by nearly 40 percent, transit ridership has declined. Cities that have added rail systems have experienced far less of an impact on total transit patronage than they expected. The percentage by which the number of riders fell below forecast for each of these cities was recently reported by the Urban Mass Transportation Administration:

Baltimore, Maryland	59 percent
Buffalo, New York	68 percent
Miami, Florida	85 percent
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	66 percent
Portland, Oregon	54 percent
Sacramento, California	71 percent
Washington, D.C.	28 percent

It helped us that ValTrans supporters gave repeated accolades to the Atlanta rail system, which was unable to increase its passenger miles of public transit service even though it spent $2 billion.

The fact is that for most people public transportation is not very convenient. It usually requires walking, waiting, and, often, standing during the ride. The schedule is inflexible. The routes are frequently indirect. The vehicles are typically slow. Even rapid rail is slowed by frequent stops. ValTrans offered a typical door-to-door travel time of 45 minutes for a one-way trip. This compared unfavorably with the average auto commute time of 22 minutes in Phoenix rush-hour traffic.

As a result, most people who ride the newly built rail systems are former bus passengers. However, attracting people from buses does little to ease traffic congestion. Using RPTA's own incredible prediction of 600 percent growth in ridership over three decades, ValTrans (trains and buses combined) would still have accounted for less than 2 percent of urban travel during the 30-year life of the plan. Phoenix voters were unimpressed by the opportunity to pay $8 billion in order to reduce automobiles' share of local traffic from 99 percent to a mere 98 percent by the year 2020.

If only one driver in 100 could be convinced to carpool, an impact on traffic congestion similar to that of ValTrans could be achieved at a small fraction of the cost. This was demonstrated in the months before the ValTrans vote. A local "don't-drive-one-in-five" promotional effort, which urged commuters to not drive one day of the work week, apparently reduced peak-hour traffic by 2 to 3 percent. At the cost of a few thousand dollars in T-shirts, coffee mugs, and the like, the potential traffic congestion reduction impact of a multibillion dollar transit system was equalled.

Air No Cleaner

As for air quality, we pointed out that the auto would remain the dominant mode of transportation in a low-density, spread out city like Phoenix—carrying over 98 percent of the travel even if the ValTrans plan were implemented and able to meet its ridership goals. We therefore argued that significant reductions in air pollution in the future would still have to come from improvements in automobiles, and that these would be achievable.

Despite the hysteria over urban air pollution, evidence shows the problem to be diminishing in most cities. Noxious emissions from new cars are as much as 96 percent lower than from cars manufactured 25 years ago. As older cars are junked and replaced by newer models, air quality improves. Data on ambient air quality in Phoenix revealed encouraging trends of improvement. Catalytic converters on cars, vehicle emission inspections, the reduction of lead in fuels, and increased miles per gallon all contributed to the salutary trend.

We similarly refuted ValTrans' claims that the system would help "the poor, elderly, and handicapped." We showed that none of the 103 miles of rapid transit was scheduled for the poor side of town. Shopping centers, commercial highrises, and the airport were the hubs of the proposed rail system.

More generally, we argued that subsidizing public transit systems is an inefficient way of assisting people either physically or financially unable to drive. We suggested that a true concern for the transit-dependent would be best expressed by targeting aid more directly to those in need—perhaps via transportation vouchers. The recipients of this direct aid could then more effectively meet their needs by purchasing or hiring suitable transportation.

Making Sparks Fly

For all our strong arguments against public transit, we could never have won the public debate without an extensive effort to make those arguments available to the general community. That job was carried out by Voters Against Senseless Transit. VAST not only handed out pamphlets, it also set up a speakers' bureau and scheduled debates before various civic groups, district Republican and Democratic meetings, and home-owners associations.

The strategy of seeking debates was driven by the need to spread our message on a tight budget. The debate format was also more likely to attract the undecided voters—the ones we most wanted to reach—and the media. Broadcasters like to focus their coverage of politi-

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cal issues on the contest: "who's ahead?" and "what do the polls show?" Debates let them emphasize that focus. Once the media had seen a few sparks flying at unbroadcast debates, they became more receptive to our suggestions for more of this type of programming, and several TV and radio stations even initiated subsequent confrontations. Debates are especially attractive to station managers if they can be scheduled to fulfill the "public service" time slots and obligations of the electronic media.

Underdog's Advantage

The key to winning debates against experienced politicians is relatively simple. Your own lack of stature can be an advantage if it helps you to stay focused on the issue being debated. Since you are "nobody" to the audience, your argument is all you have to offer. Concentrate on the key points you wish to make and make them at the first convenient opportunities. Do not try to save up for a big finish. Your opponent may successfully run out the clock and prevent you from making essential arguments. If you have a chance for a big finish you can always summarize your most potent points.

It also helps if you listen to what the other side has to say. In the ValTrans campaign we carefully examined all of the campaign literature distributed by Residents for Safe and Efficient Transportation (RSET) and RPTA. Spokesmen for ValTrans gave no sign that they understood any of the arguments we made against their proposal. After heeding what the other side has to say, *choose* what you wish to refute. This is important. You can't possibly handle every assertion that an opponent makes. Many of these assertions may be so complicated or irrelevant that attempting to refute them will sidetrack you. Bring the discussion back to your main points whenever possible.

A crude but frequently effective debate tactic of the unscrupulous is the personal attack. Those who cannot deal with the issues may resort to this in an effort to unnerve or divert you. This tactic was used in several debates by the ValTrans proponents, but was largely unsuccessful because those arguing against ValTrans kept the debate focused on the issues.

One aid in focusing on the issues is to bring your sources of information with you. Insist on keeping them at hand even when TV producers object to the clutter spoiling the visuals. Then, when you are taunted with "why should anyone believe *you*?" you can respond: "I'm not asking anyone to just *believe* me. You can check out the facts for yourself. The information I have related to you comes from...." Fill in the appropriate source and hold up the publication for the audience to see. During the ValTrans campaign we were able to refer audiences to RPTA's draft plan, an AAA brochure on auto operating costs, American Public Transit Association statistics, a report from the Congressional Budget Office, and the proponents' own campaign literature. Occasionally you may be treated to the spectacle of an ego-bound politician defending himself by proclaiming that he has not read this material. In one debate, the mayor of Phoenix disavowed all knowledge of the main campaign brochure touting ValTrans.

When you have the facts, use them. Tell others where they can get information. You don't need to ask the voters to have "faith" in you. In contrast, elected politicians often have inflated opinions of their own credibility. They may take their current office-holding

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that, dollar-for-dollar, we get 10 times more passenger transportation from freeways than from new rail transit systems.

status as a sign that voters trust them. They may seek to extend this perceived trust to the issue under debate. They may even utter the phrase: "trust me." This usually compares unfavorably to an opposing stance that urges people to check the facts for themselves.

Speaking in Sound Bites

As good as your facts may be, they still must be well-delivered. Contemporary life moves at a hectic pace, and your potential audience's time is valuable. Advertisers know this. They know that the salient features of a product must be communicated in a brief time frame. The same logic applies to the marketing of political ideas.

Fortunately, conforming to this format does not require an expensive ad campaign. Although the proponents of ValTrans bought some slick TV ads, their emphasis on style over substance undermined their effectiveness. In contrast, we were able to generate some potent 30-second "sound bites." A pamphlet incorporating a half dozen of these items was prepared and later mailed to 40,000 households. It was heartening to hear these arguments being repeated back to us by people who were unaware of the original authorship. Several of these bits of information found their way into broadcast news reports as part of the currently popular dueling quotes approach to the coverage of controversies. Some of our more successful sound bites included the following items:

> ValTrans proponents assert that their plan will cost the average family only $44 per year. Yet, $44 per family per year will raise only $1.7 billion over the next 30 years. This is far short of the $8 billion needed. Where will the rest of this money come from?

> The ValTrans system is supposed to reduce air pollution by 30 tons per day. This sounds like a lot,

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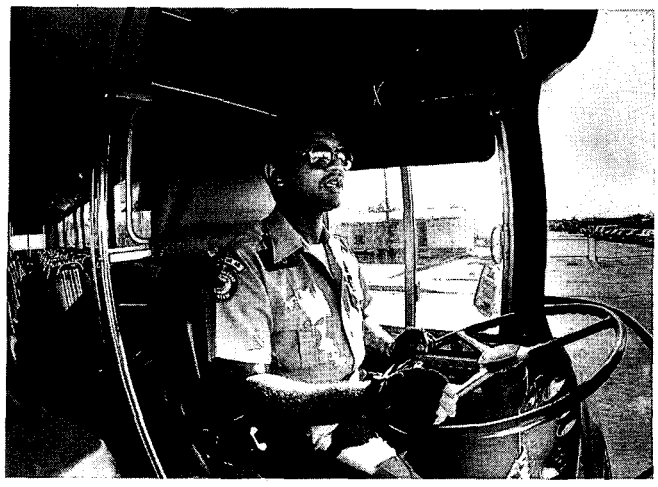

The Arizona Republic/M. Ging

At a cost of $8 billion, ValTrans would have replaced empty buses with empty rail cars.

but the city generates over 950 tons per day. Isn't $8 billion a lot to pay to cut pollution by only 3 percent?

All of these arguments and methods enabled a handful of people to take on an establishment juggernaut and soundly defeat its heavily promoted scheme. The proponents of ValTrans spent over $1.2 million, including, as was uncovered after the election, an illegal diversion of $200,000 in tax funds from RPTA to the RSET campaign in the desperate final week before the election. It was a waste of money. On election day the ValTrans proposal went down to defeat by a margin of nearly two-to-one.

Better Ways to Ride

During the campaign we suggested a number of alternatives that would yield far greater transportation benefits for most urban regions than expending vast sums on inflexible rail transit systems. Some of our alternatives follow:

- **Build more freeways.** As inefficient as building freeways may be in adding to non-rush hour excess capacity, it would still yield a better return on the tax dollar than building new rail transit. The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that, dollar-for-dollar, we get 10 times more passenger transportation from freeways than from new rail transit systems.
- **Use more one-way streets and synchronized traffic signals.** Many city arterial streets can be converted into more efficient carriers of traffic by making them one-way. With synchronized traffic signals and strategically placed overpasses, rush-hour traffic could be more efficiently accommodated.
- **Adopt peak/off-peak road-user pricing.** One of the factors aggravating rush-hour congestion is the absence of any price incentives leading road users to minimize rush-hour use. In many cities more than half the rush-hour trips are not work-related. Some of these discretionary trips might shift to an off-peak period if given an economic incentive to do so. Other commercial enterprises such as power companies, telephone services, and airlines effectively use peak/off-peak pricing differentials to help redistribute demand for their service. A similar pricing strategy could be developed for some roadways. Those wanting freeway access during the rush hour could be charged a higher vehicle registration fee. Those willing to avoid adding to rush-hour traffic could pay a lower fee. Special license plates could distinguish between these different users. It is also possible to employ technology to price and bill individual road users. Electronic toll collection is already employed in Dallas and New Orleans.

A workable pricing differential could encourage more employers to adopt flexible working hours in order to help employees save on commuting costs. A roadway pricing system would also improve the attractiveness of telecommuting. Jobs that involve processing or analyzing information could be performed at home or in satellite offices linked to the main office by phone or fiber-optic cables.

- **Encourage carpooling.** Regulations that restrict carpooling for profit could be repealed. Bus stops could be opened up to cars willing to carry passengers for a fare or to gain access to freeway express lanes. A practice that originated in San Francisco in which drivers picked up passengers at bus stops in order to meet the minimum number of riders necessary to qualify as a carpool and be permitted onto the Golden Gate Bridge express lane could be imitated elsewhere.
- **Promote privately operated subscription buses.** These types of buses have provided service for half the cost of public transit buses in such cities as Chicago and Los Angeles.

No One-Way Street

This discussion of alternatives is not intended to prescribe *one* solution for all situations. Different cities will require different answers to their transportation problems. The huge cost of traditional public transit systems, especially rail systems, should inspire a more diligent search for cost-effective options. In most instances, the resources that are consumed by our current public transit systems could be put to better use.

Municipal public transit systems throughout America share the financial and operating structures common to socialistic enterprises. Just as these enterprises in Eastern Europe have failed on a massive scale, so has public transit in this country. It is only the continuous infusion of resources from the healthy, taxpaying segments of our society that has enabled the sick public transit industry to elude a real cure. Fortunately, in Phoenix, the ValTrans program was derailed before the first train ever left the station. A determined political campaign solidly based on the facts beat the public-transit parasites and convinced the citizenry to reject such an imprudent, inequitable, wasteful alternative. ☎

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State of Choice

Minnesota Leads the Nation in Public School Options

William Myers and Michael Schwartz

Two years ago, Chris Schaefer was ready to drop out of high school. "I was in a state of educational depression....I thought I was dumb. My teachers thought I was lazy."

In most places, Chris would have had only two choices—stay in a school that didn't meet his needs or drop out of school altogether. But Chris was lucky. He lives in Stacy, Minnesota, and in Minnesota, Chris had other choices.

Under Minnesota's comprehensive educational choice plan, Chris transferred to a new school that was set up to help young people work out their educational problems and graduate from high school. Last November, Chris graduated from high school, an achievement he credits to educational choice: "As I look back at the last two years of my educational career, I can sincerely say I believe them to be the turning point of my life." Chris has since enlisted in the Navy where he hopes to be trained as a radio technician.

Chris Schaefer is a beneficiary of the most important reform idea sweeping American education—school choice. Minnesota has been the pioneer in statewide public school choice, offering parents the opportunity to send their children to any public elementary or secondary school in the state. Six other states—Arkansas, Idaho, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, and Utah—are following Minnesota's lead in offering parents a similar opportunity. An even more ambitious proposal—giving students vouchers that could be used in parochial and private as well as public schools—is on the ballot this November in Oregon.

Governor Perpich's Crusade

Minnesota's experiment in choice was initiated five years ago by Governor Rudy Perpich, a Democrat. It has received strong support from the Minnesota Business Partnership, a corporate civic association that has led the American business community in recognizing that competition is as advantageous for education as it is for capitalism.

Perpich's commitment to educational choice arose out of his own family's experience. He and his family moved to St. Paul in the 1970s, when he was elected lieutenant governor. They were not satisfied with the school their daughter was assigned to. But they discovered that it was not legally possible to transfer her to other public schools they preferred.

Realizing that other Minnesota parents had confronted the same kind of administrative rigidity, Perpich decided when he was elected governor to open more opportunities for parents. Working with Robert Wedl, now deputy commissioner of the Minnesota Department of Education, Perpich designed a plan to give parents more choice in selecting schools for their children.

They assembled a bipartisan coalition of legislators who were interested in the idea of parental choice in education. There has always been some sentiment in Minnesota for providing support for families who select private schools, and the education tax deduction, first enacted in 1958 and later upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1983 *Mueller* v. *Allen* case, gave a small measure of tax relief to families with children in private schools or to the small number of families whose children attended public school outside their home district. And choice has been available to minority students in Minneapolis since 1972, as part of a desegregation plan.

But for the great majority of Minnesotans who patronize public schools, there was no provision to facilitate parental choice. Moreover, the very thought of educational choice was anathema to one of the most powerful interest groups in the state, the education lobby. Teachers' unions, school boards, and the state education bureaucracy were all adamantly opposed to any innovation that might shake them out of a complacent routine and introduce competitiveness to the schools. Their strong opposition made it politically impossible to address the choice issue head-on.

Post-Secondary Wedge

Perpich and Wedl had to find a proposal that would be politically viable, but that could serve as an entering

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wedge for the principle of choice. They found it in a plan to enhance enrichment opportunities for high school students. Especially in smaller school districts, the range of vocational and/or enriched academic courses tends to be limited. So the legislature developed a plan in 1985 under which juniors and seniors in Minnesota's public high schools could take courses in other high schools or in colleges, if those courses were unavailable in the schools they normally attended. The coursework could be used for both high school and future college credit. The tuition for these courses would be paid by the state. This past year, 5,700 students took advantage of the Post-Secondary Options program.

Allowing students to enroll in courses in colleges (including private and even sectarian colleges) is, in principle, perhaps the most radical element in Minnesota's entire choice program because it allows state education funds to be expended in private institutions. Nonetheless, because it was presented as a means of enriching the educational opportunities of public high school students, it did not arouse the ire of the public education lobby.

Allowing high school students to enroll in courses in private and sectarian colleges is the most radical element in Minnesota's choice program.

One of the unanticipated benefits of this program is that local school districts, faced with the potential loss of students seeking broader curriculum choices, began to enrich their course offerings. More language courses were adopted in many school districts; statewide, the number of Advanced Placement (AP) courses has quadrupled since the Post-Secondary Options program was launched; and the University of Minnesota last year offered college-level courses at 24 high schools, up from one in 1985. So a program that, on its face, helped only the small minority of students who enrolled in courses outside their home schools turned out to be the stimulus for a general improvement in the public high schools.

Then Perpich and Wedl took aim at two more politically "soft" targets: combatting drop-out rates and providing a high school education for returning adult students.

Second-Chance Option

The anti-drop-out initiative took the form of a selective program for at-risk students. Eligible students were defined as those who are at least 12 years old and two years below grade level in basic skills; who have a history of disciplinary problems; who have had a substance abuse problem; or who are or have been pregnant. These students are invited to get a fresh start at a new school, generally at a school with specialized programs to meet their specific needs. There are now 41 public schools and 14 private ones to choose from.

This High School Graduation Incentive Program was initiated in 1987. While the eligibility for this program reaches down to students as young as 12, the great majority of students who have taken advantage of it so far are in the 11th and 12th grades. This is the program that helped Chris Schaefer earn his high school diploma. It is likely that without this "second chance" option, Chris and many of the students participating in this program would have dropped out of school.

A corollary to this initiative was a program aimed at helping adults who dropped out of school. It is difficult for these people to complete their education, not only because of the time constraints of trying to fit in classes with work schedules, but also because of the social awkwardness of attending school at a later age than other students. But offering classes in the evenings, in an all-adult environment in "area learning centers," made it more inviting for this target population to return to school. There are now 30 such centers.

Stage Three: Open Enrollment

The final and most far-reaching element in the choice plan offers all public elementary and secondary students the option of enrolling in another public school, anywhere in the state. This element of the choice program, which was started on a limited basis in 1987, was gradually expanded and became a universally available option in September 1990.

The ability to attend school in another district is restricted by only two factors: Applications from nonresident students can be rejected for lack of space, and both the home district and the nonresident district can turn down transfers that would negatively affect desegregation guidelines. But there is a powerful incentive for school districts to accommodate new students because more than $3,500 in state education funds accompanies each student's transfer to his new school.

Desegregation is an issue for students residing in or wishing to transfer to schools in the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, all of which are under desegregation orders. So far, all of the minority students from these districts who wish to attend school outside the district have been permitted to do so, although because of desegregation rules Minneapolis has denied transfer to 88 percent of white students seeking to leave the district.

The choice option also applies within school districts, and has been quite successful so far. The overwhelming majority (96 percent) of entering kindergarten students have been accepted in one of their first three choices, and 85 percent were accepted into their first choice.

3,500 Transfers

About a hundred students took advantage of the transfer option in the first year, fewer than 500 in the second year, and about 3,500 in the third year. Presumably, the number of students attending school outside their district of residence will increase again this year as the plan is fully implemented, and then will level off. Even by the time the plan is fully functioning, it is likely that

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no more than 2 to 3 percent of Minnesota's 700,000 elementary and secondary students will attend school outside their home districts.

But, like the post-secondary options program, the number of students visibly benefitting from the choice plan reflects only a fraction of those who will benefit from it indirectly. Open enrollment improves the education of students who stay put just as much as it benefits students who choose to transfer to new schools. Particularly in the large cities, where there is a significant degree of dissatisfaction with the neighborhood schools, the choice plan has led to the development of magnet schools and enhanced programs to make the urban schools more attractive to students and their families.

The large school districts naturally want to retain as many of their resident students (and the state aid that goes with them) as possible. Now that many of these students are free to attend school elsewhere, the urban school districts recognize that they must improve the quality of their education in order to remain in business.

And they fight hard to keep students. When nearly 120 students applied to transfer from Westonka, a working-class suburb, the district's schools began to respond more fully to the concerns of Westonka's parents, for example by offering an after-school program.

None of this has been lost on Minnesota's parents. When Governor Perpich first proposed the open enrollment option in 1985, critics predicted a bureaucratic nightmare and an exodus that would close smaller schools. But the transition to school choice has been smooth and public support for it has grown. In 1985, fewer than one in three Minnesotans favored the idea.

An unanticipated benefit of the Post-Secondary Options program is that high schools began to enrich their curricula so as not to lose students.

Today, more than two-thirds support choice and that enthusiasm is even greater among families who participate in the open enrollment program. In a recent state survey of 137 families who transferred their children to new schools, support for choice was unanimous.

Teachers' Choice

It is noteworthy that these comprehensive reforms should have initiated in Minnesota. By any standard, Minnesota's public education system is among the best in the nation. The state has a higher graduation rate than any other state and its students are near the top in American College Test (ACT) scores. It is also worth noting that per-pupil expenditures on public education are not particularly high in Minnesota, ranking near the

Chris Schaefer, who graduated from high school last November, says he would have dropped out but for school choice.

national average. Educational choice was not introduced as the emergency solution to a crisis in the public schools, but as the next step in Minnesota's continuing quest for educational excellence.

To the surprise of many observers, the choice plan has also proven popular with teachers. Minnesota teachers have been so favorably impressed with the program that the teachers' unions in the state have changed their position on the issue. Instead of offering resistance to the choice initiatives, they have become strong advocates for public school choice. Robert Astrup, president of the Minnesota Education Association, says teachers in the state generally "have a positive attitude toward the choice program" although they still oppose vouchers for private schools.

Teachers have discovered that their jobs are more rewarding when parents are actively involved as partners and when children are attending the schools that they want to attend instead of schools to which they have been arbitrarily assigned. And they are finding that the motivation to improve, which only competition can provide, brings out the best in themselves and their colleagues.

Heartened by this success, Governor Perpich has called for an even broader expansion of his educational choice program. Last year, he proposed a new program under which school drop-outs and at-risk students could attend, at public expense, private schools that are not religiously affiliated. The state legislature is expected to consider this proposal during its next session.

Wedl, the education official who shepherded the choice plan through its early stages, is proud of what his state has accomplished. "When we look at what's happened in Minnesota," he commented with satisfaction, "how could anyone say the parents ought not have a substantial role? That's the American way."

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Is HIV the Cause of AIDS?

Peter H. Duesberg and Bryan J. Ellison Respond to Their Critics

The Summer 1990 issue of Policy Review *contained one of the three or four most-talked-about articles in the history of the magazine. "Is the AIDS Virus a Science Fiction?: Immunosuppressive Behavior, Not HIV, May Be the Cause of AIDS," by Professor Peter Duesberg of the University of California at Berkeley and his doctoral student Bryan Ellison, put into layman's language an argument that Duesberg, one of the world's leading retrovirus researchers, has advanced several times in scientific publications. The article elicited more letters to the editor than any in* Policy Review's *history, and our offices received more comments, both positive and negative, than on any other article in recent memory.*

Most responses to the article have been sharply critical, as one would expect for an argument challenging the reigning paradigm of most leading scientists and doctors closely involved with AIDS, as well as of most conservatives who are deeply knowledgeable about the disease. But a large number of readers said they were absolutely fascinated by the questions Duesberg and Ellison raise about prevailing AIDS wisdom, and they wondered why Duesberg's argument has received virtually no public attention. Whether or not one agrees with Duesberg's and Ellison's arguments—and the important public policy implications if they are correct—it does seem that there has been a rush to judgment implicating HIV as the *cause of AIDS and a distressing politicization in the scientific community that refuses even to entertain contrary views.*

What follows is a sampling of letters we received about the Duesberg-Ellison article, together with a response from the authors.

—Adam Meyerson

Fringe of Science

Dear Sir:

I was stunned by the article by Peter H. Duesberg and Bryan J. Ellison. I felt like I had been on Mars for 50 years and had just returned home to find that everything I had come to know about AIDS was no longer true.

In the interest of brevity, I will point out only seven statements by the authors that are completely at variance with current knowledge:

1) "Evidence increasingly indicates that large numbers of people infected with HIV, probably the majority, will never develop AIDS."

Would that it were true. Numerous cohort studies have proven otherwise. A group of 6,000 homosexual men in San Francisco followed since 1978 has shown the following pattern of progression from infection to illness: Among the 121 men who became infected before 1981, 52 percent had developed AIDS by 1988-89; 22 percent had developed AIDS-related conditions; 11 percent had generalized lymphadenopathy; and 15 percent remained asymptomatic but were expected shortly to develop symptoms.

2) "The syndrome began to level off in 1988." It is widely known and accepted that the leveling off in new AIDS cases among homosexual men in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco was the direct result of therapy with AZT, an antiviral drug that slows progression to AIDS and therefore postpones diagnosis. Cases among infected intravenous drug users, the majority of whom could not afford to take AZT prophylactically, have risen steadily, accounting for 21 percent of all cases in the United States, and 47 percent of new cases in New York City.

3) "There are no confirmed cases of AIDS among health care workers after accidental infection." This is simply false. Infections and subsequent AIDS cases resulting from needle-stick exposures are well known and documented. One physician, infected in precisely this manner in 1985 and diagnosed with AIDS in 1988, addressed the Sixth Annual AIDS Convention last June in San Francisco.

4) "AIDS diseases without HIV." Duesberg and Ellison note that Kaposi's sarcoma has been diagnosed in some homosexual men who are HIV-negative. Your authors failed to mention a hypothesis gaining increasing support: that Kaposi's sarcoma may well be the result of a completely separate etiologic agent from AIDS, transmitted in homosexuals through anal intercourse, as is AIDS. Kaposi's sarcoma occurs rarely among other HIV-infected individuals, such as blood-transfusion recipients, intravenous drug users, and hemophiliacs. This observation is simply not a legitimate "flaw" in the HIV hypothesis.

5) "The AIDS diseases seen among infants tend to be the typical pediatric diseases." This statement is disgracefully inaccurate. *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia (occurring in 40 percent of pediatric AIDS cases) is a typical childhood disease? Lymphocytic interstitial pneumonitis? Fungal infections of the esophagus or lungs? Cryptosporidiosis? Cryptococcal meningitis? Even before the advent of antibiotics and vaccines these infections were never considered routine.

6) "Koch's postulates unmet." Robin Weiss and Harold Jaffe thoroughly trounce this assertion in their commentary appearing in the June 21, 1990, issue of the British medical journal *Nature,* citing the etiological

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agents of cholera, polio, and tuberculosis as well-known exceptions to the outdated postulates. They go on to explain that other researchers, following modernized versions of the postulates, have convicted HIV as the causative agent of AIDS.

7) "[For people with AIDS] the use of AZT and similar antiviral-specific drugs should be avoided." With this particular statement the authors cross over the border of science into the realm of quackery. AZT, certainly, is an imperfect drug. It is not a cure. But as numerous studies published in reputable medical journals establish, AZT is the best and only antiviral treatment currently available for HIV infection. To recommend that HIV-infected persons forgo such treatment based on "anecdotal case descriptions" is a grievous misinterpretation of scientific evidence.

I am deeply distressed about this article and its contents, which are, at best, at the fringe of science.

Elizabeth M. Whelan
President
American Council on Science
and Health
New York, NY

Evidence for HIV

Dear Sir:

In their recent article Duesberg and Ellison argue that HIV is not the causal agent of AIDS and that preventive measures based on this premise are "misguided." As an epidemiologist involved in the investigation of HIV infection and AIDS, I cannot accept these assertions. Here are some of my reasons:

1) Among 386 homosexual men who were already infected by HIV in 1984 and were followed with twice-yearly examinations by my colleagues and me, 140 (36 percent) developed AIDS, and 80 died of AIDS in the ensuing five years. Among 40 homosexual men infected by HIV after entering the study, two (5 percent) developed AIDS. Among 370 homosexual men, simultaneously recruited for study from the same source and who remained uninfected during the five years of observation, *none* developed AIDS.

2) Among the 386 men already infected by HIV in 1984, 193 (50 percent) had T-helper cell counts below 500 per microliter of blood on initial examination, while among the 370 uninfected men, only 18 (5 percent) had T-helper cell counts lower than 500 per microliter. A deficiency of T-helper cells is the key factor causing the immune deficiency, which, in turn, is responsible for the wide spectrum of clinical manifestations of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

3) In HIV-infected men, T-helper cell counts fell, on average, about 80 per microliter in each year of observation. Less than 15 percent of HIV-infected men failed to show a decline in T-helper cell counts during the follow-up period. The average T-helper cell count in uninfected men remained constant over the five years of observation.

4) In our study, and in all other studies, acquisition of infection by HIV among homosexual men was primarily associated with a particular sexual practice, receptive anal intercourse with numerous different partners. Acquisition of infection was not related to drug use, per se, but was highly correlated with needle sharing during drug use. These observations are fully consistent with an infectious mechanism of transmission.

5) The rate of infection by HIV in the 410 initially uninfected men in our study declined from an annual average of 6 percent for the period 1984-85 to less than 1 percent during 1989. This decline was associated with the adoption of recommended safe sexual practices by a large proportion of study participants.

Koch Knew His Limits

Duesberg and Ellison emphasize the failure of HIV to satisfy the criteria of Koch's postulates. However, even when he was restating criteria earlier proposed by his teacher, Jacob Henle, Robert Koch knew that certain pathogenic bacteria, in particular, the tubercle bacillus, did not fully satisfy the criteria. In modern times, established pathogens such as poliovirus do not satisfy Koch's first or third postulate, *i.e.*, the virus cannot be isolated from all cases and only a small proportion of infected persons develop disease. Duesberg and Ellison are wrong when they claim that no medical workers, accidentally infected, have developed AIDS. Of the 27 documented cases of HIV infections acquired through accidental infection by medical workers, two have developed AIDS.

The epidemiological evidence supporting a causal role for HIV in the etiology of AIDS is overwhelming. The modes of transmission of HIV have been established and provide the basis for a rational approach to prevention. However, an understanding of the pathophysiology of HIV infection remains incomplete. As this understanding develops, many of the apparent paradoxes enumerated by Duesberg and Ellison may be resolved.

Warren Winkelstein Jr.
Professor of Epidemiology
University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, CA

Proof in the Pudding

Dear Sir:

Duesberg and Ellison repeat misleading and fallacious arguments that have been refuted many times in other journals. I shall reiterate some of these points.

Koch's postulates were a great advance a century ago. However, they no longer encompass our increased knowledge of infectious diseases. Even so, the relationship of HIV to AIDS does in fact fulfill the modern version of Koch's postulates.

Contrary to statements in the Duesberg and Ellison article, certain strains of simian immunodeficiency virus do cause an AIDS-like disease in monkeys; HIV is very different in genetic structure from most other retroviruses (it has at least five additional genes); the distributions of HIV and AIDS are similar when allowance is made for the long latent period and for differences in reporting; there is now a drastic decrease in the proportion of pediatric AIDS attributable to transfusion (there has been an increase in the number of cases because the latent period after infection until appearance of clinical illness ranges from 2 to 15 years);

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there are well-established instances of health care workers with no other risk factors becoming infected with HIV and then developing clinical AIDS, as exemplified in the highly publicized recent New York City court case; and numerous examples of heterosexually transmitted AIDS directly linked to HIV seroconversion without any other risk factors (or the life-style factors claimed by Duesberg and Ellison as the cause of AIDS) have also been well documented.

Pediatric Evidence

Most convincingly and tragically, mothers infected with HIV pass the virus to about one-third of their offspring, although all offspring of HIV-infected mothers receive antibodies to HIV. Several studies show a large excess of AIDS and related symptoms in HIV-infected children of HIV-infected mothers compared with uninfected children of HIV-infected mothers. For example, in a study by Goedert, 15 of 16 HIV-infected children of HIV-infected mothers had AIDS or pre-AIDS symptoms, while none of 39 uninfected children of HIV-infected mothers were ill. In total, 72 percent of the HIV-infected children of HIV-infected mothers had the disease, compared with only 5 percent of the uninfected children. Duesberg and Ellison state that "the risk behavior of many of their mothers has reached these victims." It is clear that what reached the children was HIV.

That HIV causes AIDS is well established. An anti-HIV therapy, AZT, has actually decreased the rate of appearance of new cases of AIDS. However, there are still many unanswered questions about the pathogenesis by HIV, about how to develop a safe and effective vaccine against HIV, about how to stop behavior that results in transmission of HIV, as well as how to pay for treatment of HIV-induced disease, and many others. (The majority of the federal spending on AIDS is not spent on research, but on treatment.) The only way we will stop the AIDS epidemic is through more biological and behavioral research.

Howard M. Temin
Professor, Department of Oncology
McArdle Laboratory for Cancer Research
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, WI

Harmful Science

Dear Sir:

I was profoundly disappointed to learn that *Policy Review* would print anything by an individual who has been so discredited in the scientific community as Peter Duesberg. His ideas are not only wrong, but incredibly harmful.

When we formed our organization, Americans for a Sound AIDS/HIV Policy, over three years ago, we researched intensively to find the truth regarding HIV disease. We found a dramatic range of opinion on this topic, often being biased by either pro- or anti-homosexual opinions. The least biased studies have been done by the armed forces.

Research at Walter Reed

The military is completely thorough in its research in order to protect its personnel, since, in time of war, its soldiers serve as its front-line blood bank. Among other things, the military conducted extensive surveys in Africa and other countries (many of these unpublished), as well as screened its entire active force of over two million individuals, of whom presently more than 6,000 are infected. It has also tested all civilian military applicants since October 1985 for the HIV virus. The data generated by these extensive studies fully conclude that HIV is a progressive disease that causes a slow but relentless destruction of T-cells and eventually results in the individual succumbing to what would be otherwise non-life-threatening diseases.

Researchers at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research found a progressive decline in the average number of T-cells from time of HIV infection until symptomatic AIDS and death. This finding contradicts Duesberg's statement that "the number of T-cells lost at any time would be roughly equivalent to the number lost from bleeding from shaving. Such losses could be sustained indefinitely without affecting the immune system because the body constantly produces new T-cells at far higher rates."

Duesberg's assertions that "virtually no reactivation of the virus occurs when AIDS patients develop sickness" and that "after the body produces antibodies against HIV the virus remains at low levels for the rest of that person's life," are equally false. As the number of T-lymphocytes declines, the volume of virus in body fluids increases. This is not theory or hypothesis. This is reality.

The progressive nature of the virus is further detailed by numerous studies showing that those infected with HIV progressively worsen through the diminution of T-cell counts. Most major clinical trials involving therapeutic drugs or treatments use T-cells as a prime marker for disease progression. This is accepted scientific practice and not some form of witchcraft as Duesberg would have readers believe.

Regarding Koch's postulates, Duesberg is mistaken again when he writes, "until the recent advent of highly sensitive methods no direct trace of HIV could be found in the majority of AIDS cases." Incorrect. Ninety-five percent of late-stage AIDS patients at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C., could be cultured and all tested positive for HIV—at *all* stages. Duesberg alleges that the virus level "is typically so low" that it could not be isolated. Equally false. Duesberg maintains that "when accidentally injected into health care workers, even though the virus successfully infects those hosts," these people didn't develop AIDS. Again, incorrect. Two highly publicized lawsuits were settled recently by Johns Hopkins with Dr. Anoun and New York City's Health & Hospitals Corporation with Dr. Prego. It was acknowledged that their infections occurred on the job, and both doctors now have symptomatic AIDS. There are many others.

Epidemic Proportions

Perhaps Duesberg's biggest misrepresentation of all is the statement that "evidence increasingly indicates that large numbers of people infected with HIV, probably the majority, will never develop AIDS." All evidence now shows that HIV will claim all whom it infects. The epidemic continues to increase. Annualized cases ending

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in June 1990 totaled 40,006 versus 33,512 cases reported through June 1989. The epidemic will continue to claim ever-increasing numbers and percentages of people. The Centers for Disease Control recently reported staggering HIV-infection rates, as high as 7.8 percent in certain neighborhoods in the Northeast.

In discussing civilian military applicant data, it is important to note that in the six most heavily infected counties in the country today, the ratio of young men to women infected with HIV is now one to one. That means that ultimately the ratio of men to women with AIDS in that age bracket will approach one to one. Recently reported cases of AIDS—which reflect HIV infections five to 15 years ago—have no bearing on present infections, other than to reveal that the epidemic is becoming a heterosexual epidemic among young people. It is not true, as Duesberg states, that, "males with HIV are more likely than females to develop AIDS even though they have the same virus." He also states that the proportion of men to women in reported AIDS cases "has not changed since AIDS was first defined." Again, untrue. The ratio, in fact, has dropped from about 13 to 1, males to females, to about 9 to 1 today.

Duesberg would be interested to know that the CDC's AIDS case definition actually does not require a positive HIV test to qualify as AIDS. In all likelihood some individuals in the past were defined as AIDS cases and yet were not HIV-infected. This would account for some of the long-term survivors of AIDS who may never have had HIV disease, and were able to combat the other opportunistic diseases effectively.

Heterosexuals Beware

Duesberg's arguments about risk behavior have some validity in that this is a disease acquired through intimate sexual or intravenous contact. However, his statements are much more misleading since there are those he wouldn't classify in any "risk group." Many young, sexually active heterosexuals are now becoming infected and will be at risk for contracting this disease in the future. In fact, heterosexuals are now the fastest-growing group of reported AIDS cases.

Duesberg also claims that AZT is nearly the only treatment prescribed to people who are HIV-infected, while conventional diseases are neglected. This is also blatantly untrue. Other diseases *are* treated. However, because the individual no longer has a functioning immune system, these diseases in time overwhelm the body, even with medication to defend against them. Once again, Duesberg is utterly wrong when he claims that, "HIV is inactive by the time AZT is administered."

One of the author's statements is correct: that his risk hypothesis should reduce the fear of HIV infection. It certainly will do that. As a result, many will believe they aren't at risk, and will subsequently become infected and die. Having worked with many families who are suffering from this disease through all modes of acquisition of this virus, we can say that his recommendation that sexual partners of HIV-positives need not be contacted or traced is perhaps the most irresponsible position that could be taken by anyone in this epidemic.

It is immoral and reprehensible to leave at risk unsuspecting sexual partners, many of them loving spouses. Duesberg's conclusion that, "the HIV hypothesis has not yet saved a single life," is totally untrue. We personally know individuals who have been saved because their spouse learned of their infection in time to alter behaviors. We also know a number of children who tragically are losing both parents because a spouse wasn't informed. These are real people who are dying at very early ages and leaving behind fine young children whom we will all have to take care of in some way.

The authors' recommendation that sexual partners of HIV positives need not be contacted or traced is perhaps the most irresponsible position that could be taken by anyone in this epidemic.

—W. Shepherd Smith Jr.

W. Shepherd Smith Jr.
President
Americans for a Sound AIDS/HIV Policy
Washington, DC

AIDS Virus Not a Fiction

Dear Sir:

"Is the AIDS Virus a Science Fiction?" ask Peter H. Duesberg and Bryan J. Ellison. Had you asked some practicing physicians, or even a mining engineer with knowledge of the situation in Africa, the answer would be clearly "No."

The article sets some of its errors in large, bold-face type, *e.g.*, "there are still no confirmed cases of AIDS among health workers after accidental infection with HIV." There is a multimillion dollar lawsuit in progress about one such case. Another is described in the first person in the September 7, 1989, issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine.*

Can "the combination of prolonged malnutrition with heavy use of alcohol, heroin, cocaine, and antibiotics...lead to complete immune system collapse"? We didn't see this when I was a student or intern in inner-city hospitals. And when we see it now, the HIV test is usually positive. (Yes, all tests known to man have false negatives. And there is more than one cause of immunodeficiency.)

Public health departments may be delighted to hear that "there is no need to trace the sexual partners of HIV positives," since most of them don't do it anyway. But the prevalence of seropositivity for HIV in regular heterosexual partners of infected persons has ranged from 10 percent to 60 percent in various studies.

Nobody knows how many Africans have died of AIDS.

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Some say that as few as 1 percent of actual AIDS deaths are reported. But there are armies of orphaned children, and workers refuse to go to some mining communities where the prevalence of disease is especially high.

There are too many errors in this article to cover them all. Perhaps the most obvious one is the assertion that syphilis is "difficult to test for."

Jane M. Orient, M.D.
Tucson, AZ

HIV One of Many Immunosuppressors

Dear Sir:

Lest readers of Duesberg and Ellison's article claiming that HIV is not the cause of AIDS think that the authors are lone wolves crying in the wilderness, let me add my voice to the growing chorus. While I am not convinced that HIV is irrelevant to understanding AIDS—after all it is highly correlated with the syndrome—I am not convinced that it is any more important than other immunosuppressive agents associated with AIDS. On the contrary, I believe existing evidence demonstrates that HIV is neither necessary nor sufficient to cause AIDS.

First, data linking HIV to AIDS are nowhere near as good as the public are led to believe. Reference to the Centers for Disease Control's own data reveals that 5 percent of AIDS patients tested for HIV never display signs of infection, and that less than 50 percent of AIDS patients have been tested for HIV.

Recently, cases of homosexual men with AIDS and without HIV infections have been verified. In response, HIV proponents are lobbying for a change in the definition of AIDS to exclude HIV-free cases. These people do not, apparently, understand two things: 1) that defining AIDS by HIV and simultaneously demonstrating that HIV causes AIDS is tautological, and therefore bankrupt, reasoning; and 2) that altering the definition of AIDS does not alter the fact that HIV-free people can and do develop the same set of opportunistic infections as those who are HIV-infected. Whether these HIV-free cases are listed as AIDS patients or not, they are still medical patients whose syndrome is in need of explanation. Logically, HIV is not, therefore, necessary to cause the development of these symptoms, and other causes of what we now call AIDS must exist.

Other Agents

My own research, which was published this summer in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, suggests what these other causes of acquired immunosuppression may be. Briefly summarized, all of the following agents had been demonstrated to be immunosuppressive prior to the discovery of HIV, and all are highly associated with one or more AIDS risk groups: immunological response to semen following anal intercourse; the use of recreational drugs such as the nitrites ("poppers" and "snappers"); chronic antibiotic use (often associated with promiscuity); opiate drugs; multiple transfusions; anesthetics; malnutrition (whether caused by "gay bowel syndrome," drug use, poverty, or anorexia nervosa); multiple, concurrent infections by diverse microbes; and infection by specific viruses such as cytomegalovirus, Epstein-Barr virus, and hepatitis-B virus (all of which are as highly associated with AIDS as is HIV).

Several of these agents, including cytomegalovirus, hepatitis-B virus, opiate drugs, and repeated blood transfusions, are known to cause the same sort of T-cell abnormalities that are found in AIDS, and which are usually attributed (perhaps inaccurately) to HIV infection. The other agents cause a wider spectrum of immunosuppressive responses, and probably explain why more than simply T-cells are non-functional in AIDS patients. Every AIDS patient has several of these immunosuppressive agents at work in his or her system in addition to, and sometimes in the absence of, HIV. We cannot, therefore, logically conclude that HIV is the sole or even the main cause of immunosuppression in AIDS.

19th-Century AIDS

Now, if the so-called life-style theory of AIDS is correct, one important implication is that AIDS should not be a new syndrome. It is not. I am one of only a handful of scientists who have bothered to search intensively through the back issues of medical journals for odd cases that match the CDC surveillance definition of AIDS. So far I have found hundreds of such cases, extending back to 1872 (the date when the first opportunistic disease associated with AIDS was identified). I have also scoured the medical literature for data relevant to changes in life-style risks associated with immunosuppression. What I have found is very provocative.

Whereas the Kinsey report of 1948 indicates that the average homosexual man had a sexual encounter no more frequently than once a month, by 1980, the advent of gay bars and bath houses had increased this average to dozens per month. Gay AIDS patients have often had thousands of sexual partners. Medical reports of complications arising from AIDS-associated high-risk activities such as anal intercourse and fisting are first mentioned in the medical literature only at the beginning of the 1970s, and become increasingly frequent thereafter. From 1960 to 1980, the rates of syphilis triple, gonorrhea quadruple, and diseases related to "gay bowel syndrome" quadruple. These increases were found only among gay men, but not among heterosexual men or women.

From 1960 to 1980, hepatitis-B cases rose 10-fold, in part due to sexual transmission in gay men, and in part to IV drug abuse. Arrests on opiate-related drug charges rose nearly 20-fold during the same period. There is, then, no doubt that AIDS was preceded by medically evident changes in life-style among those groups at highest risk for AIDS, and these changes are such that not only HIV, but the entire spectrum of immunosuppressive agents mentioned above became increasingly prevalent in these groups.

These data indicate to me that HIV is not sufficient to explain the manifestation of AIDS or its recent appearance. Many other factors are also at work. It is a tremendous mistake to base our policy decisions concerning AIDS on an exclusive HIV basis. Far from undermining current drug prevention and safe sex programs, the recognition of non-HIV immunosuppressive factors in AIDS suggests that these programs are failing because they are *too narrow*. AIDS will only be understood when we begin to explore the ways in which

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anal sex, infections, drugs, blood products, anesthetics, antibiotics, and malnutrition interact. At present, we know almost nothing about such interactions. Since increasing evidence from the laboratories of the discoverers of HIV indicates that HIV needs immunosuppressive co-factors to be active, such studies are clearly needed. In the meantime, those who wish to avoid contracting AIDS should avoid all potential causes of immunosuppression, not just HIV. And those who are HIV-positive but not ill may find that if they, too, avoid this lengthy list of immunosuppressive co-factors, they too will stay healthy.

Robert S. Root-Bernstein
Associate Professor of Physiology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI

Paradigm Unvisited

Dear Sir:

My concern, expressed for some years in TV programs, magazine articles, and my book *AIDS: The HIV Myth*, has been the subjective element in scientific research. Medical science in particular is presented to the public as a seamless body of unchallengeable knowledge, when in fact it is a complex mass of conflicting beliefs, each supported by a foundation of fact, but buttressed by the vested interests of research institutes and fashionable theories.

This has never been more true than in the case of the HIV theory. But there is another element here. There is something about the heady mix of science and sex in this theory that inspires extremes of intolerance in those who espouse it. Anyone questioning the link between HIV and AIDS is met with an unreasoning fury or an offended refusal to discuss the matter. The hysteria directed against critics of the HIV theory suggests that it is not a matter of scientific fact that is being defended here but a belief system.

This is particularly disconcerting because of the very poor quality of scientific thinking behind the HIV theory. To give some examples: Current scientific method says that to prove a theory we should actively seek information that would disprove it. It is by resisting these repeated challenges that the theory becomes stronger, or, instead, it fails and gives way to another theory more appropriate to the evidence. In fact, since HIV was declared the cause of AIDS at a press conference in April 1984 (before the scientific papers that were supposed to support it were even published), there have been no experiments designed to test the HIV theory. All the work in this multimillion dollar research project has been designed and carried out to support the HIV theory of the cause of AIDS.

No Questions Asked

One of the pillars of scientific thinking is predictive testing. As a part of policy-making, government scientists make predictions of the number of AIDS cases based on current HIV infection rates. The predictions have turned out to be wrong by orders of magnitude. There are far fewer AIDS cases than would be predicted by the number of HIV cases. Under the rules, if your prediction doesn't come true, you re-examine the theory. What the HIV supporters do in these circumstances is to conjecture that maybe their assessment of the number of people with HIV infection was wrong, or maybe the incubation period is longer than they thought. The parameters of the predictive experiment have to be adjusted in retrospect to fit an unwelcome outcome. The only thing they will not do is re-examine the theory that HIV alone and of itself causes AIDS.

The use of mainly anecdotal "evidence" from Africa in defense of the HIV theory is particularly shocking. In 1988 and 1989 the AIDS epidemic failed to follow predictions and AIDS cases in the U.S. and Europe began to plateau without substantially exceeding the limits of the so-called at-risk population. What should have happened was a wholesale re-evaluation of the HIV theory. Instead, its supporters told us to look to Africa, which would demonstrate they had been right all along. So the two continents with the greatest capacity for collecting medical information and analyzing statistics about the epidemic were relying for confirming evidence not on their own well-funded institutions, but on information garnered from the continent with the least sophisticated health and statistical services.

Existing evidence demonstrates that HIV is neither necessary nor sufficient to cause AIDS.
—Robert S. Root-Bernstein

Shabby Criticism

The poor quality of scientific thinking leads to shabby behavior in the conference halls and journals. A theory that is poorly grounded has to defend itself from its critics on the basis of sneer and insult, for it has no honorable weapons of debate.

Now, having failed to rise to the challenge to their theory by scientists such as Duesberg in the scientific papers, defenders of the HIV theory complain that criticism of it has been made available to the public. This will, we are told, undermine confidence in public health measures designed to protect the general population. I happen to feel that the use of clean needles and condoms is a valuable public health measure in itself without the bogeyman of HIV. But what really interests me is the way critics of the HIV theory are told to keep their doubts to themselves because if they don't, the very theory about which there is serious doubt might lose its influence with the public. Thus doubt is placed in the service of certainty in the public interest.

Ultimately, expert advice must be evaluated by the people who are not experts—politicians, journalists, and the public. This is part of democratic life and a scientist has no more right to exclusion from public scrutiny than a treasury official. All expert advice affecting our lives must be subjected to abrasive doubt. In the field of the

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HIV theory this doubt has had a struggle to thrive in the scientific community. It needs an infusion of energy from outsiders whose only interest is to ensure that hard questions are asked and the "AIDS establishment" is pinned down to answer them.

Jad Adams
London, England

A Study in Risk Behavior

Dear Sir:

Duesberg and Ellison present as thorough and balanced a review of AIDS as I have seen in print. It certainly makes a strong case for the thesis that immunosuppressive risk behavior is at least as likely as HIV to cause this complex array of diseases. I have witnessed the abuse to which Duesberg has been subjected for arguing this thesis. The *coup de grace* that is supposed to silence him is that AIDS cases among hemophiliacs and children of HIV-positive mothers do not exhibit the risk behavior. But the article deals effectively with those objections by showing that they, in their own way, constitute risk groups.

Tens of thousands of HIV-positive people are walking around with the fearful misunderstanding that it's only a matter of time before they necessarily become ill and die. Many of these people feel sick solely because of this belief.

—Michael Ellner

The authors' suggestion that controlled studies be done on HIV-positive and negative groups with equivalent risk behavior is an eminently sensible one, and I am amazed that this has not been done. This, of course, must be done using non-HIV controls undergoing *equivalent risk behavior* as the HIV carriers, *i.e.*, equivalent number of anal-receptive drug-using sexual encounters, or frequency of intravenous drug use. To the best of my knowledge, such a study has not been done, much less published.

If the authors are correct, and HIV is essentially a reporter for high-risk behavior, it would be difficult indeed to find the right controls. Until it is done in a scientifically sound way, I am not willing to accept—or to completely reject—a central role for the virus in the etiology of the disease. But, since such a strong case can be made for the role of drugs, antibiotics, and related risk behavior in the origin of AIDS, it makes little sense to recommend clean needles and condoms while ignoring the behavior itself.

The one solid epidemiological fact we seem to have is that the disease in the U.S. is restricted almost entirely to certain risk groups. Regardless of the involvement of the virus, the only sure cure is to modify the behavior.

Harry Rubin
Professor of Cell and Developmental Biology
and Virologist to the Virus Laboratory
University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, CA

Mycoplasmal Agents

Dear Sir:

In the spirit of "the openness" of science we salute Peter Duesberg for his challenging and courageous voice speaking out against the present scientific establishment. His extensive experience and knowledge about retroviruses lends merit to his critical evaluation of the possible causative role of HIV in the AIDS disease.

However, there is a fundamental difference between our judgment of the AIDS disease and that of Duesberg. We believe that the disease of AIDS is an infectious process. Despite our respect for Duesberg's expertise in retroviruses, we think his assessment that *no microbe*, including any mycoplasma, could possibly cause the full set of AIDS diseases is premature. It has been known for many years that microbes known as mycoplasmas can cause immune suppression, weight loss, diarrhea, and chronic debilitation in animals; but mycoplasmas were not considered fatal in humans. The recent discovery that a previously unrecognized pathogenic mycoplasma, *M. incognitus*, causes fatal systemic infections in experimental monkeys, has suggested that this microbe could be playing a disease-promoting role for AIDS. It is significant that mycoplasmal infection has been found in diseased brains, livers, and spleens of AIDS patients, as well as some HIV-negative patients displaying similar symptoms.

Luc Montagnier, the French discoverer of HIV, is the most famous but not the only eminent scientist who endorses the possibility that mycoplasmal agents could play a significant role in AIDS. Many mycoplasmologists worldwide have now joined the search of these microbes in patients with AIDS. We also applaud Montagnier's courageous strong stand at the recent International Conference on AIDS that mycoplasma could be the key co-factor of AIDS disease.

There are many intriguing, but certainly not well understood, biological characteristics of *M. incognitus* and the infection it produces. The infection suppresses the immune system, causes immune derangement, and can be associated with chronic debilitating disease.

The biology and nature of these mycoplasmas need to be carefully reassessed, using modern technology. The rapidness of advances in understanding the significance of mycoplasmal disease in humans will be directly proportional to the amount of funds available. At present only a very small amount of money supports mycoplasma studies.

We believe the most healthy and responsible scientific

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attitude in dealing with AIDS research is to explore all possible avenues. To make any conclusion lightly or prematurely, such as ruling out any possible role of microbes in AIDS, or to commit oneself exclusively to a particular agent and completely rule out any other possible role of a different microbe, may all result in a greater loss of AIDS victims.

Shyh-Ching Lo
Chief, Division of Geographic Pathology
Col. Douglas J. Wear, MC, USA
Chairman
Dept. of Infectious and Parasitic Disease Pathology
Department of Defense
Armed Forces Institute of Pathology
Washington, DC

AIDS or Syphilis?

Dear Sir:

While we agree with many of Duesberg and Ellison's criticisms of AIDS research, they are ignoring research (*i.e.*, on AIDS contracted by the wives of hemophiliacs) that appears to support the HIV hypothesis.

In our experience, Duesberg and Ellison are overly simplistic in believing that abstinence from risk behaviors will avert the devastation of AIDS or that the risk-behavior theory can explain the presence of AIDS in those who have not engaged in these behaviors.

Between 1981 and 1985, our group at the Institute for Thermobaric Studies worked with over 400 individuals with AIDS, or AIDS-related complexes (ARC), or who were at risk due to contact with AIDS patients. As did Duesberg and Ellison, we saw major causes of immune suppression in the behaviors and life-styles that would make for classical (not HIV-related) acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Included in the classical causes of immune suppression were chronic inflammatory diseases (venereal diseases, hepatitis, allergies, chronic irritation, infection, or injury), chemical suppression (from any anti-inflammatory, antibiotic, or depressant drug as well as the wide range of street drugs), and malnourishment (including bulimia, anorexia, and laxative abuse).

During this time, we taught over 200 AIDS, ARC, and at-risk clients to support optimum immune competence and minimize their exposures to immune-suppressive drugs and behaviors.

As Duesberg and Ellison hypothesize, we did see a significant improvement in the general health of our clients, but not with everyone and not uniformly. Initially, we attributed this to different health status and varying degrees of dedication, discipline, or economic resources. Daily documentation was made of diet, stress, exercise, sleep, medications, and drug use. Despite the best efforts and the highest quality of care, men continued to sicken and die, although more slowly than those not engaged in our program.

Black Death

By 1984, we saw the resurgence of the opportunistic infections regardless of the quality of care and decided to take a closer look at these infections in the period prior to the antibiotic/drug era that began in 1945. We quickly found that everything we were seeing in AIDS had been seen before, most often and most profoundly in individuals who had an underlying, progressing infection of syphilis.

By 1985, the narrow focus of AIDS research and the shifting of funds out of sexually transmitted disease areas into HIV research had severely restricted any open inquiry into factors related to AIDS that did not directly promote the HIV hypothesis. We were seeing research by mandate and epidemiology by fiat. To continue our investigation, we developed BASIS, Biological Assessment of Syphilis and Immune Suppression. BASIS has been screening educated, affluent, health-conscious consumers who are not engaged in risk behaviors although they may have in the past. We continue to find a major correlation between a prior history of syphilis and the development of AIDS independent of the sensationalized behaviors or blood transfusions, and independent of whether they tested HIV-positive.

Like Duesberg and Ellison, we believe that the fundamental science to prove the HIV hypothesis has not been done. We do not, however, assert that there is no correlation between HIV and the disease syndrome we are seeing in AIDS. Long-term infections of syphilis, while causing immune suppression, also foster overgrowth of viruses, odd forms of virus, as well as other opportunistic infections. HIV may actually be a marker for an otherwise undetected, altered form of syphilis. We suspect it may be the "black syphilis" of Asian origin.

Quick and Painless

Like Duesberg and Ellison, we see the use of AZT as a political and economic solution without real medical benefit to the patients. AZT is a known immune suppressant that essentially shuts down the immune system. By administering AZT to AIDS and ARC patients, few symptoms emerge that require medical care or hospitalization until the final stage of massive system failure from multiple infections. With AZT, the insurance companies avoid the $150,000-$250,000 expenses of earlier AIDS cases where 9 to 18 months of hospital and medical care were threatening to bankrupt the companies. Hospital and health care administrators, including Medicaid officials, who saw their ruin looming as Medicaid AIDS patients filled their wards, were relieved that their financial exposure could be limited to a few weeks or months by AZT administration to patients. Politicians who were reluctant to expend more money and public resources for the care of economically and politically disenfranchised minorities could assuage concerned families and friends and the media that everything was being done that could be done medically with AZT. They promised to make AZT easier to obtain and require that all physicians seeing AIDS patients urge them to go on the drug. AZT does not stop the progression of the disease. It does not stop patients from dying. But the dying is quiet, convenient, and cheap at $5,000 to $15,000 per patient.

We believe that AIDS is the tip of an iceberg of immune-suppressive disorders in our country, which if combined with syphilis could lead to a major human die-off by the end of the century. Duesberg and Ellison do us all a disservice by continuing to promote the idea

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that normal people, with normal sexual patterns, who do not abuse drugs, are not at risk.

Joan J. McKenna
Director of Research
TBM Associates
Berkeley, CA

Break Up the HIV Monopoly

Dear Sir:

We agree with Duesberg and Ellison that the foundation of our national AIDS policy is crumbling due to its own errors and incompleteness, and feel that the whole thrust of HIV testing and research must be reconsidered.

Our experience in working with people with AIDS and those at risk clearly supports a multifactorial theory.

One urgent consideration is that tens of thousands of HIV-positive people are walking around with the fearful misunderstanding that it's only a matter of time before they necessarily become ill and die. Many of these people feel sick solely because of this belief. Thus, the possibility that HIV is not the cause of AIDS brings up issues of psychological murder, as well as scientific error.

It is not in our best interest to allow the HIV/AIDS establishment to maintain their monopoly on the prevention and treatment of AIDS and it is long past time for us to insist on open-minded, first-rate science, rather than simply accepting the unproven assumption that HIV causes AIDS, let alone that AZT extends life.

We hope that medical doctors and the Food and Drug Administration will be held accountable for the distribution of AZT based on the poor quality of research provided in the studies, and the well-known dangers of using this toxic and immune-suppressive drug, all to destroy a virus of questionable pathogenicity.

Michael Ellner
Vice President
Health-Education-AIDS Liaison (HEAL)
New York, NY

AIDS in Africa

Dear Sir:

The spread of AIDS in Africa is consistent with the bold thesis of Peter Duesberg and Bryan Ellison that AIDS is not primarily caused by HIV, but it contradicts the authors' suggestion that the disease is caused simply by behavior. Their statement that "AIDS in Africa is evenly distributed between males and females" is quite wrong; for the majority of the 53 African countries there is a "female preponderance of AIDS," as first noted by Dr. Neeguaye and colleagues from Ghana. Sex parity of AIDS incidence is true only of seven countries in East/Central Africa, and of one in West Africa where AIDS is in the propagation phase. For the remaining 39 sub-Saharan African countries in the introduction phase, AIDS was, until very recently, known as a female disease resulting from international prostitution.

That Certain "Something"

It is well documented that African men who use only *village* prostitutes are less likely to get AIDS than *town* prostitute users, who are less likely to get AIDS than *city* prostitute users. There must be "something" that the city international prostitute transmits to produce AIDS. In Arabic North Africa, for example, international prostitution is practiced only on pain of death and there is no AIDS problem. The Duesberg and Ellison hypothesis does not address this.

Another example of the international connection to AIDS is from my own Krobo tribe in Ghana, where promiscuous men who have not left the tribe do not get AIDS. The only Krobo men—three in all—who have AIDS have been the international prostitutes' pimp-husbands who accompanied their repatriated wives home from the Ivory Coast. "Something" must have been transmitted from the prostitute wives to their non-promiscuous husbands that was not transmitted by the non-prostitute wives to their Krobo husbands who stayed at home. How then can AIDS be said to be non-infectious? And why do children born to Krobo families at home, both polygamous and non-polygamous, escape AIDS while those of families involved in the sex trade do not?

Risk Behavior Not Sufficient

Duesberg and Ellison are correct in saying that immunosuppressive behavior is a factor in AIDS, but alone it is not enough to produce AIDS. For example, the international prostitutes who repatriated from the Ivory Coast to die form the bulk of Ghana's AIDS patients. Many of these repatriated prostitutes are in the third generation of their profession. Duesberg and Ellison's hypothesis cannot explain why these prostitutes' second- and first-generation relatives never got AIDS.

Another example from Africa refutes Duesberg and Ellison's risk hypothesis. I discovered two pockets of traditional male-male sex practitioners—one among the Swahili Arabs and the other among some West Africans influenced by an immigrant culture. While there is no AIDS among these rural folk, AIDS has developed among a third group of "homosexuals"—young men who roam international hotels in Africa's largest cities practicing the same "immunosuppressive behavior" for foreign exchange. "Something" must have been transmitted to this last group who were anything but malnourished.

Along with the international link and that certain "something" in spreading AIDS, another possible factor is that a traumatic experience may hasten the onset of AIDS. Professor Quartey and I have established that virgins in Africa develop AIDS within 10 to 12 weeks after exposure. It seems that perineal trauma allows "something" to be transmitted, as happened with the 12-year-old girl who developed AIDS quickly after being raped by Ugandan rebel troops. Similarly, HIV-positive Ugandan patients with no symptoms whatever were suddenly tipped into AIDS by surgery, pregnancy, or even gynecological investigations, proving that HIV alone was not enough to produce AIDS.

Duesberg and Ellison's case against HIV is bolstered by the many cases that defy the HIV-only theory. In Rwanda, for example, I learned of the case of an international prostitute who gave birth to twins. The seronegative baby died from AIDS, while the seropositive one lived. Similarly, a seropositive Ghanian child is still alive and well without symptoms four years after her mother died of AIDS. Duesberg and Ellison are also

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correct in pointing out that malnutrition is not only immunosuppressive, but can also be present with features exactly like AIDS.

Yet despite such findings, much evidence contradicts Duesberg and Ellison's hypothesis. Studies show that in the early propagation-phase of AIDS in East and Central African countries, the failure to screen blood for transfusions has led to AIDS. Similarly, in the West African countries of Nigeria and Ghana, where the HIV antibody rate in blood donors is very low, AIDS infection through blood transfusion is rare. The Duesberg and Ellison hypothesis fails to explain these discrepancies. Clearly, the debate over AIDS is not over.

Tribal Therapy for AIDS

The best support for Duesberg and Ellison's hypothesis comes from the success of both tribal and non-tribal therapeutics in Africa. Traditional healers in Africa have been tackling AIDS with varying degrees of success. Two food items that were also found anecdotally to be therapeutic interested me most. Pawpaw seeds (*Carica papaya*), traditionally used in the Gold Coast (Ghana) for intestinal parasites, abdominal pain, and diarrhea but with no known anti-retroviral action, have been tried in Ghana in AIDS diarrhea with some encouraging results; and the winged bean (*Psophocarpus tetragonolobus*), also with no known anti-retroviral action, has helped Ashanti women with AIDS.

One non-tribal treatment for AIDS is the special formulation of human alpha interferon (KEMRON) that was produced through the international cooperation of experts from Kenya, the U.S., and Japan. It holds the best promise for AIDS treatment and owes its efficacy less to an anti-retroviral (HIV) effect than to an immune-enhancing capability. Indeed, drugs with specific anti-retroviral properties are less effective in treating AIDS.

In summary, there are "pluses" and "minuses" in the Duesberg and Ellison hypothesis. There is still a lot of rethinking to be done regarding HIV and its relationship with AIDS, and Professor Duesberg has been right to insist over the past four years that the debate should not be closed.

Felix Konotey-Ahulu, M.D.
Cromwell Hospital
London, England

Clinical Evidence for HIV

Dear Sir:

There are many perplexing questions regarding HIV and AIDS. Clinical observations may help understand the process. If many of the points Duesberg and Ellison make are evaluated in the context of the reality of patient care, many of the questions they pose can be answered.

HIV Destroys Immune System

The average patient, for example, has HIV disease for 10 to 15 years. At each cross-section of time, as Duesberg and Ellison highlight, only a small percentage of T-cells are found to be infected. But, these few cells appear to die earlier than expected, so over time, gradually fewer total cells are left. However, a few of those have received as their legacy HIV infection to slowly continue the T-cell-depleting effects of the disease. The fact that only a few T-cells are affected at any one time does not change the fact that ultimately, left untreated, HIV destroys the immune system.

On that natural disease course, one should superimpose an individual's characteristics. For example, it is true that one's immune system can be markedly

The spread of AIDS in Africa is consistent with the bold thesis of Peter Duesberg and Bryan Ellison that AIDS is not primarily caused by HIV, but it contradicts the authors' suggestion that the disease is caused simply by behavior.
—Felix Konotey-Ahulu

depressed by use of "recreational" drugs. Substantial percentages of the earliest cases of AIDS were in drug users, as Terry Krieger and I pointed out in a *Wall Street Journal* article as early as 1985. Drug users appear to have been the earliest patients because they may have had a shorter HIV disease course than the average HIV patient due to drug-induced immune system dysfunction.

It is evident to clinicians that stopping substance abuse, during any disease, increases a patient's survival time, but that should not be equated with a cure of the disease. Nor should immune-system dysfunction from drug usage be equated with immune-system depression from a disease.

Many different diseases can produce the same objective findings. Cases of pneumocystis and Kaposi's sarcoma occur, for example, in those who are immune-suppressed from other factors than HIV, for example, from the effects of organ transplants. But the clinical history is so different that it makes good medical sense to distinguish such patients separately from those with HIV-antibody positivity and T-cell disease due to HIV.

AZT Dangerous But Effective

AZT, today's primary HIV medicine, unfortunately is not the ideal. It does not always control HIV as measured by the P-24 HIV antigen test and does not always cause T-cells to increase as much as desired. But it does achieve these things in statistically significant numbers, and without AZT many people would have died much earlier. Any clinician involved with AIDS treatment has a "control group" of patients that for one or another reason have refused AZT. In one of our groups we reviewed 102 HIV P-24 antigen-positive patients, 77 of whom received AZT. There were 25 who did not receive AZT. These had a 36 percent death rate, contrasted to the 77 who received AZT, who had an 18 percent death rate.

AZT as a treatment for HIV disease is, of course, "dangerous," like any chemotherapy or some antibiotics.

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However, use by patients under appropriate physician monitoring, with continuous laboratory testing, markedly decreases the dangers. In fact, under such circumstances, there are only minimal side-effects from AZT evident to the patient. Further, anemia, the most significant hazard, quite often can be controlled and reversed by concomitant use of erythropoietin, indicating, in 1990, that AZT is not as "dangerous" as originally thought in the mid-1980s when it was introduced.

Cesar A. Caceres, M.D.
The Caceres Health Group
Washington, DC

Duesberg Injected

Dear Sir:

My initial reaction to anyone challenging the AIDS industry in any way is favorable, but in the case of Peter Duesberg and his co-author Bryan Ellison, I really must demur.

The authors state that HIV does not satisfy Koch's postulates that the germ must cause the sickness when injected into healthy hosts, because "HIV has not been shown to cause disease when injected experimentally into chimpanzees, nor when accidentally injected into human health care workers." In fact, HIV does cause disease in chimpanzees, but not AIDS. Rather, it causes a swelling of the lymph nodes, which is one of the earliest symptoms of human HIV infection. It is startling that the authors do not point out that pathogen-caused disease is to a great extent animal specific. The vaccinia virus, for example, causes the disease cowpox in cattle but does not cause the disease in humans. Indeed, in humans it is used as a vaccination to prevent smallpox. Further, there have been cases of health care workers becoming infected with HIV and then developing AIDS, including the case of a New York physician that recently made national news after she sued the hospital. Another doctor with whom I appeared on TV had been infected on the job and was suffering from the early stages of the disease.

In the spirit of "the openness" of science we salute Peter Duesberg for his challenging and courageous voice speaking out against the present scientific establishment.

—Shyh-Ching Lo and Col. Douglas J. Wear

Duesberg and Ellison state that HIV does not satisfy another of Koch's postulates that the germ must be found in the affected tissues in all cases of the disease. By this standard few if any viruses could be considered the cause of any disease since viruses are notoriously difficult to isolate directly. (Koch, incidentally, developed his postulates before the discovery of viruses.) This is why the use of antibodies as viral markers was an accepted practice long before AIDS came along. The authors shoot themselves in the foot when they point out that "no HIV at all can be isolated from at least 10 to 20 percent of AIDS patients; until the recent advent of highly sensitive methods, no direct trace of HIV could be found in the majority of cases." Exactly. It wasn't that the virus wasn't there; it's that current technology could not detect it then, and improved technology cannot always detect it now.

African Epidemic Exaggerated

The authors are correct that the African epidemic has been exaggerated, as indeed has the epidemic everywhere. But they incorrectly accept on its face the estimate of Ugandan HIV-positives (800,000) and the estimate of AIDS cases there (41,000) to assert: How could so much HIV cause so little AIDS? The number of estimated infections is so high because the political body that came up with it grossly exaggerated it, but it's much more difficult to exaggerate case numbers. Why do the authors go to Africa where the numbers are so foggy when they can look at exact studies right at home? Two different studies of homosexual males in San Francisco have found that after an average of 10 years of infection with HIV, about 80 percent of the subjects have developed full-blown AIDS or symptoms demonstrated to be precursors to developing AIDS. A British study presented at the International AIDS Conference in San Francisco found 23 percent of hemophiliacs had HIV and 69 percent of those were symptomatic after only an average of five-and-a-half-years' infection. One study of 172 children, which appeared in the December 28, 1989, *New England Journal of Medicine* found that 12 percent had full-blown AIDS but *all* had symptoms associated with HIV infection, indicating they were on their way to AIDS. This is an extremely high correlation between infection and disease, far higher than the correlation between disease and cytomegalovirus (CMV), or poliovirus, or the bacteria that cause tuberculosis, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. But nobody argues that since neither CMV nor the tuberculosis bacterium always cause disease they are not responsible for those diseases occurring.

Role of Co-Factors

The authors make some nice points, but they are points that don't prove their case. Yes, co-factors do appear to play a role in developing AIDS, especially in developing Kaposi's sarcoma. But co-factors also play a role in determining whether cytomegalovirus or tuberculosis bacterium lead to disease.

Yes, the value of AZT is unknown because standard testing protocol was not followed. Indeed, the worth of AZT has been grossly overstated by an AIDS industry desperate to show results from the massive infusion of money it has received—and taken from other disease research areas. But again, this does nothing to disprove the HIV hypothesis.

The bottom line is that there is as much or more

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evidence for HIV causing AIDS as there is for numerous other pathogens to cause the diseases we've associated with them. Epidemiology reveals that those infected with HIV are getting it from the blood and semen of other HIV-infected persons. Those infected with HIV can look to cohorts of homosexuals, hemophiliacs, and transfusion recipients and assume that chances are they will get sick and die from opportunistic infections. Further—and this is what is most troublesome about the authors' hypothesis—they must assume themselves capable of infecting and ultimately killing others. If the authors convince them otherwise, they are doing a great disservice. What I would suggest, in perfect seriousness, is that before the authors write another article suggesting that it is perfectly okay for HIV-infected persons to have unprotected sex with uninfected persons or vice-versa, that they, in a public forum, inject themselves with HIV. Apparently Duesberg has hinted he may do it; I think he should go beyond that. Readers have a right to know just how much faith the authors have in their own theory.

Michael Fumento
author, *The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS*
Lakewood, CO

Peter H. Duesberg and Bryan J. Ellison respond:

We are gratified to find our challenge against the virus–AIDS hypothesis finally generating the debate that should have occurred within science, and among the tax-paying public, years ago. While our view, particularly the risk–AIDS hypothesis, is currently a minority view among scientists, co-factors in AIDS are being viewed as important by an increasing number of researchers; even Luc Montagnier, the discoverer of HIV, has officially joined this modified view of AIDS. And since billions of tax dollars have failed to save even a single life from AIDS, the HIV hypothesis deserves review. Simply put, there is no proven precedent for the following claims regarding HIV:

1) No virus has ever been scientifically shown to cause its disease only after being neutralized by antibodies.

2) No virus has ever been proven to cause disease typically after long latent periods, rather than when it first infects a new host.

3) No virus has ever been shown to kill thousands of times more cells than it infects.

4) No retrovirus, including HIV, has ever been demonstrated to kill systematically *any* of the cells it infects.

5) No virus has ever been found that causes radically different diseases in different hosts (AIDS includes diseases not caused by immune suppression).

6) No sexually transmitted disease has ever remained so rigidly confined to specific risk groups, and to males, for 10 full years.

In short, if the HIV–AIDS hypothesis were true, it would be a truly revolutionary break with all previous scientific experience.

Yet several categories of arguments are frequently marshalled in defense of the virus–AIDS hypothesis:

Cohort Studies

From the field of epidemiology, "prospective" or "longitudinal" cohort studies are often cited, in which HIV-positive patients are followed as they progress to AIDS, while the HIV-negative control group generally does not develop fatal disease. These studies can be confusing to those unaware that their purpose is not to determine whether HIV causes AIDS, but rather to find clinical symptoms that can define various stages of sickness. The HIV-negative group is usually selected from people in good health, who are then compared with the HIV-positive patients with the health risks that we believe cause AIDS. One could just as easily conduct a cohort study, comparing HIV-negatives with health risks to HIV-positives without them, and get precisely opposite results!

Controlled studies, on the other hand, would compare two groups of people, one with HIV and the other without. The sizes of both groups should be large, at least in the hundreds, so that the occasional unexplainable anecdotal cases of AIDS diseases would be averaged out between the groups. The two groups would be matched for every health risk that might possibly be involved in the various AIDS diseases. Both groups would have the same number of hemophiliacs, of the same ages, with the same degrees of hemophilia; the same number of drug addicts would be in both, and the groups would be matched for types, amounts, and history of drug use; both groups would have the same number of transfusion recipients, with the same conditions requiring transfusions; and so on. If the HIV-positive group in such a study had significantly more diseases than the negative group, HIV would be shown to play a role in causing AIDS. The type of cohort studies cited by Whelan, Winkelstein, Temin, and Fumento is in no way this sort of controlled study. Further, we wonder how Winkelstein could construct a study able to determine that "Acquisition of [HIV] infection was not related to drug use, per se, but was highly correlated with needle sharing during drug use."

Old Diseases

The uncontrolled cohort study is also used to argue that the majority of HIV-positives eventually develop AIDS. One of the most frequently cited is the San Francisco hepatitis-B cohort, originally selected because they were already sick with hepatitis. The disease and death rates of these extremely unhealthy people were projected onto the rest of the HIV-infected population, leading to the grossly high estimate of future AIDS rates. But since only 13 percent of the estimated one million American HIV-positives have actually developed anything called AIDS over the last decade, there is no reason to believe that such cohorts in any way reflect the condition of most HIV-positives. One should expect death rates to be relatively high in health risk groups like this. Again, a controlled study is needed, not careless extrapolation.

Similar studies with biased selection methods have created the unjustified impression that AZT has extended lifespans, but no properly conducted studies have yet been published showing longer life resulting from this invariably toxic drug. Indeed, recent data shows that long-time AZT users have an incredible 50 percent rate of lymphoma, a cancer of the white blood cells. This AZT

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effect is officially being blamed on HIV, since several lymphomas are listed as AIDS diseases, although the percentage of AIDS victims overall who develop lymphomas is much lower than 50 percent.

Further, those diseases that do occur in the HIV-negative groups of such studies are not diagnosed as AIDS, since this syndrome is defined by the presence of indicator diseases if the patient has antibodies against HIV; tuberculosis found in the HIV-negative group is simply called tuberculosis, not AIDS. This presumptuous and misleading definition of AIDS continually generates confusion among those who do not realize that AIDS is merely a new name for old diseases.

Individual Examples

Anecdotal cases of AIDS patients seem to be most powerful in convincing people that HIV is a dangerous virus, despite the scientific worthlessness of such individual situations. For such conditions as immune suppression, individual cases can always be found in which no underlying cause is obvious to the examining physician. In past decades, such diseases as *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia and Kaposi's sarcoma have been diagnosed in individuals without visible health risks. Diseases without obvious underlying causes are typically referred to as "primary" causes of the condition, and do not in any way indicate that something profoundly new causes it. About 3 percent of AIDS cases cannot be connected to confirmed health risks, which is not surprising; to determine scientifically whether HIV causes AIDS, a controlled study using large sample sizes is required, specifically designed to average out such anecdotal cases (as described above).

When citing occasional AIDS cases among babies, heterosexuals not using IV drugs, or health care workers with HIV, defenders of the HIV hypothesis are generally assuming, rather than absolutely confirming, the absence of other health risk factors in each of these uncommon cases. This is particularly true of drug abuse, which can be quite difficult to verify.

Media sensationalism has also convinced people that wives of hemophiliacs or transfusion recipients, presumably, having no more health risks than the general population, often contract AIDS from their spouses. But among the thousands of wives of HIV-positive hemophiliacs in the U.S., a fair number are likely to contract the virus eventually. Since AIDS is merely, by definition, a list of old diseases that are renamed when in the presence of antibodies against HIV, one should not be surprised to find an occasional such wife who happens to contract HIV and, coincidentally, one of the many diseases on the AIDS list. If a controlled study were done, comparing HIV-positive wives to HIV-negative ones, we are confident the two groups would develop diseases at the same rates. Playing up the few anecdotal cases of such wives is at best irresponsible, since there is no data to suggest they are more likely to become sick with HIV than without.

Orient cites a needlestick AIDS case described in *The New England Journal of Medicine.* But that article does not confirm that the doctor developed AIDS diseases with no health risks other than HIV; except for slight weight loss (10 pounds) and a "bit" of fatigue, the article fails to specify the doctor's AIDS "complications." Whether the doctor is also using the toxic drug AZT is not stated. We therefore continue our relentless search for confirmed cases of AIDS resulting from needlestick injuries.

Nothing shows the bankruptcy of the virus–AIDS hypothesis better than the claims of Temin, Winkelstein, Whelan, Orient, Smith, and Fumento that one, or possibly two, health care workers may have contracted AIDS from hypodermic needles contaminated with materials from AIDS patients. The U.S. employs some five million health care workers, treating a cumulative total of over 100,000 AIDS patients for almost 10 years; thousands of American scientists also work on HIV. None of these are vaccinated against HIV. Compare the one or two debatable needlestick cases with the consequences if the nation's health workers were instead exposed for so long to polio or hepatitis virus, also without vaccination!

A Unique Virus

One of the most mistaken impressions of HIV holds that it is in some way an unusual virus. Often statements are made about its genetic complexity and "additional genes." Retroviruses have between 5,000 and 10,000 letters, or "bases," of genetic information; HIV has nine thousand, a typically small number. And virtually any genetic sequence contains some overlapping pieces of information, the "additional genes" referred to by Temin, which can also be found in any retrovirus. In the test tube, HIV behaves no differently from other retroviruses in any observable way. In short, we would like to know where this unusual complexity of HIV is hiding.

HIV would certainly have to be an extremely unusual virus to be able to kill billions of T-cells, though little or no active virus can be found in the body (contrary to Smith's assertion, for which *both* sides of the virus–AIDS debate would certainly appreciate a published reference). This fatal blow to the HIV hypothesis sometimes prompts strange and creative explanations. Caceres, for example, believes that the body's T-cells could be depleted if infected cells died sooner. But the time it would take infected cells to die would not matter. In *all* viral diseases, the virus must reproduce faster than the host's cells if it is to overtake and deplete them. HIV never even comes close. Further, HIV does not kill infected cells: Robert Gallo has patented the HIV antibody testing procedure from virus that is produced in cell lines that grow continuously, rather than die, and Luc Montagnier has recently confirmed that HIV does not kill cells in the test tube.

When supporters of the HIV hypothesis cannot make HIV sound unusual enough, they try instead to make other viruses sound like HIV. For example, a retrovirus termed SIV is said to cause an "AIDS-like" disease in monkeys. But with no long latent period, no wide variety of diseases (no Kaposi's sarcoma or dementia), and where antibodies protect against disease, we have great difficulty calling such conditions "AIDS-like."

Changing the Rules

When all else fails, defenders of the virus–AIDS hypothesis resort to moving the goalposts; rather than bringing the hypothesis into question, paradoxes lead to painful contortions of its details. A latent period first had

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to be invented, then extended to its present, and still growing, total of 10 to 11 years. Antibodies had to be used, not merely to indicate that the host carried the virus, but actually to predict future disease. When Kaposi's sarcoma no longer even remotely correlated with HIV, the Centers for Disease Control had to consider dropping it from the AIDS list, rather than questioning whether AIDS was even a single condition at all. In the past, virus–AIDS defenders continually cited Africa as proof of the hypothesis; when we ourselves began citing the actual data on Africa, opponents such as Fumento turned around and adopted our previous position, that Africa proves nothing.

And when HIV cannot meet Koch's postulates with AIDS, Whelan, Winkelstein, Temin, and other virus–AIDS supporters casually try to abandon those time-tested, commonsensical postulates. Contrary to often-stated claims, the polio virus and the tuberculosis bacterium have indeed satisfied Koch's criteria for their respective diseases. In polio, for example, the virus can be isolated from the affected tissue in *every* case of polio (postulate #1); the virus has been cultured (#2); the virus causes disease in animals (apparently Winkelstein is unaware that such experimenters as Albert Sabin have caused poliomyelitis in monkeys with injected polio virus); vaccines block the virus from causing disease in humans (#3); and the virus can always be reisolated (#4). Until they are able to propose a clearly superior set of standards for determining whether a virus causes a disease, HIV–AIDS proponents are arbitrarily throwing out proven standards to accommodate HIV in AIDS.

Alternative Explanations

Questions are raised by Orient about whether health-risk factors brought on AIDS-type diseases in past decades. Searchers of the medical literature, such as Robert Root-Bernstein and ourselves, do reveal the association of these conditions with such risks as drug use, surgical operations, chemotherapy, and so forth. *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia, for example, has generally been found in precisely such risk groups; former California state legislator Paul Gann would never have been considered unusual for developing such a condition after a traumatic operation at an advanced age, but this was renamed AIDS because he was also infected with HIV. And drug use has exploded in both numbers and amount of use, so that only within the last 10 or 15 years have noticeable numbers of diseased addicts begun showing up in "inner-city hospitals."

Many who are willing to question the HIV hypothesis are still not willing to abandon the idea that AIDS is at least an infectious disease. McKenna, Lo, Wear, and Konotey-Ahulu suggest that other infectious agents may serve as co-factors, or even as primary agents of AIDS. However, AIDS simply does not behave as any known infectious condition; it is rigidly segregated in certain very specific risk groups, which for the most part are themselves associated with drug use, and after almost a decade over 90 percent of AIDS cases in the United States continue to be found in males (over 80 percent of heavy drug users are male). No precedent exists among infectious diseases for this strange distribution. All known venereal diseases spread widely through the population, including syphilis, herpes, gonorrhea, chlamydia, etc. Mycoplasmas are also quite universal, and certainly do not confine themselves so carefully to males or special risk groups, so consistently, for a decade or more. Konotey-Ahulu's evidence for AIDS as an infectious condition, mostly regarding urban prostitutes in Africa, seems to us more probably related to drug use and other western types of risk factors that have recently increased in availability in those cities.

Both of us would be quite willing to carry out the Fumento test: if he will arrange for sufficient national publicity, we will be happy to have ourselves publicly injected with HIV.
—Peter H. Duesberg and Bryan J. Ellison

How to Resolve the Debate

A relatively simple set of tests would quickly determine, once and for all, whether HIV (or any virus) causes AIDS:

1) The virus should be chemically active in more cells than the host can generate.

2) The symptoms of the disease should occur within weeks or months after infection.

3) The disease should spread relatively randomly among its potential hosts, rather than being confined to highly specific groups.

4) Antibodies produced by the immune system should be able to fight or completely neutralize the disease.

5) A controlled study, in which a group of people with the virus should be compared to a group without, to see whether those with the virus develop the sickness. The groups should be matched for all possible health risk factors: equivalent types and amounts of drug use, use of antibiotics, use of AZT, exposure to previous diseases, hemophilia, etc.

HIV, of course, already fails points (1) through (4), and we have little trouble anticipating the result of a controlled study.

But both of us would be quite willing to carry out the Fumento test: if he will arrange for sufficient national publicity, if he would be convinced by our action, and if he will thereafter help us bring exposure to our viewpoint, we will indeed be quite happy to have ourselves publicly injected with HIV. Perhaps Fumento will also be willing to check on our health status in the year 2000, or after whatever additional time is eventually added to the virus' latent period.

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LETTERS

Walter Dean Burnham, William F. Connelly Jr., Terry Considine, Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, W. Dain Oliver, David K. Nichols, Judith A. Best, William K. Reilly, Aaron Wildavsky, Carl F. H. Henry, Dean A. Ohlman, Joel Schwartz, Fred Lee Smith Jr., Lawrence J. Korb, Reginald Bretnor, Jerry Gideon, Roberto J. Ball

Term Limitations Not Conservative

Dear Sir:

Charles R. Kesler's "Bad Housekeeping: The Case Against Congressional Term Limitations" (Summer 1990) represents something very close to the best professional political science evaluation of the subject, regardless of ideological or partisan commitments among the researchers in question.

It is worth recalling the history and effects of the 22nd Amendment limiting presidential terms. This was passed by the 80th Congress in 1947 and ratified by the necessary three-quarters of state legislatures in 1951. The charge was led throughout by conservatives. For many of them, it seemed to be a chance to get back at Franklin D. Roosevelt, the unchallenged electoral "champ" of that era.

But times change and so do the expressions of partisan-ideological interest. Everyone knows that Eisenhower would have beaten Kennedy or any other Democrat in 1960 had he been constitutionally eligible to run. And in the later 1980s, there was quite a movement among conservative Republicans for repealing the very amendment that their conservative forebears had secured a generation earlier. This reflected their devotion to Ronald Reagan and their well-founded belief that he could win any foreseeable presidential election if only he were eligible. The moral of the story, it seems to me, is a *genuinely* conservative one: if you tamper with the Constitution, there are likely to be unintended consequences that may eventually defeat your own purposes (not to mention the national interest).

GOP's Substance Abuse

The same applies to proposals for congressional term limitations. Professor Kesler does a good job of explaining where the *real* problems lie in the world of electoral politics these days. The key to the problem lies in the degeneration of the traditional electoral system. This has manifest effects. As usual in such episodes in the past, many Americans seek changes in the mechanics of politics rather than in the substance of political action. A crucial issue for Republicans, one might add, lies in their relative lack of success in winning open-seat elections in the House of Representatives. It's not enough to say the "Democrats have better candidates." The problem lies in the inadequacy of the popular appeal of the GOP at this level of election. This is a problem for Republicans to come to grips with and solve if they can. Imposing term limitations would have precious little to do with it.

I agree with Professor Kesler's conclusion: focusing on term limitations (as on a number of other constitution-changing proposals) strikes me as a vast waste of time at best and a producer of serious (often unintended) problems at worst. All of us, conservatives and liberals, right and left, have a vital interest in finding ways to rejuvenate the party system and rebuild the health of American democracy. Developing the relevant motivations among politicians to do this requires quite different lines of approach. Let us hope that this will occur; for without it, a large-scale and destructive political crisis is very likely to burst forth in the years immediately ahead.

Walter Dean Burnham
Professor of Government
College of Liberal Arts
University of Texas
Austin, TX

Iron Triangles

Dear Sir:

Charles R. Kesler is correct in arguing that pursuit of a 12-year term limitation is a "colossal distraction" for Republicans. He may even be right in citing members' ombudsman activities as contributing to their reelection. However, there seems to be a contradiction between his reliance on Morris Fiorina's analysis of the problem and the solution Kesler proposes. If Fiorina's analysis is correct, and increased incumbency advantage can be traced to careful attention to constituent service, how will Kesler's strategy of sharpening partisan ideological differences succeed? Is Kesler recommending to House Republicans and Republican challengers that they reject what works?

Pork Instead of Policy

If Fiorina is right, Congress is the keystone to the rise of a Washington establishment in which "iron triangles" or "subgovernments" made up of interest groups, congressional committees, and corresponding executive agencies control policy.

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Members of Congress, he suggests, are more interested in constituent casework and pork-barrel activities than policy, and consequently "[p]ublic policy emerges from the system almost as an afterthought." Consequently, the average congressman is more concerned with administration than politics. Or as Kesler summarizes, "ombudsmanship is a corollary of bureaucracy" and Congress is the "faceless bureaucracy's friendly face."

If the ombudsman role assures members' reelection, why should House Republicans "inaugurate robust political competition" and muster "the prudence and courage to take on the strategic political questions dividing conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats" as Kesler urges? Fiorina's analysis implies that citizens are more inclined to vote with their constituency interests rather than with their policy predilections. Why suppose an issue-oriented, policy campaign will work? Fiorina's argument leaves little incentive for challengers to distinguish themselves from incumbents on the issues. Again, if Congress is no longer about politics and is only about administration, how will Kesler's proposed solution work?

Partisan vs. Local Strategy

The contradiction in Kesler's argument, apparent or real, is understandable, however. It parallels the internal debate among House Republicans over which strategy to adopt in their quest for majority status. Newt Gingrich argues that House Republicans will only become a majority party through confrontation that sharpens ideological and partisan differences between the national parties. Mickey Edwards counters that "all politics is local" and congressional races are won district by district, not by artificially introducing national party differences. Who is right? There may not be a correct answer. Given the separation of powers and the nature of congressional elections, Congress is clearly not Parliament, but neither is it the local school board.

William F. Connelly Jr.
Associate Professor
Washington and Lee University
Lexington, VA

If the principles underlying the American system of government could be summarized in a single sentence, it would be Lord Acton's: Power corrupts.
—Terry Considine

Let Us Eat Cake

Dear Sir:

So Charles Kesler thinks we voters should eat cake.

"If the American people want to vote all incumbents out of office, or just those particular incumbents known as liberal Democrats, they can so do with but the flick of a lever," Professor Kesler writes.

Maybe that's the way things are in Professor Kesler's ivory tower. In the real world, things are different.

Incumbents have created so many advantages for themselves that

they nearly always win. What was supposed to be "the People's House" has become an Imperial Congress that represents only the ambitions and extravagances of its members.

America was to be a classless society, without the kings, princes, and nobles of Europe. But unlimited free mailing privileges, huge staffs, and gobs of PAC money have created a new (ig)nobility.

This privileged caste has ratified its status by exempting itself from the laws it imposes on us lesser breeds.

This sounds a lot like what our forefathers fought a revolution against. If the principles underlying the American system of government could be summarized in a single sentence, it would be Lord Acton's: Power corrupts.

Limiting Power Is Natural

Our system of government is an exercise in the limitation of power. It is why we have a federal system. It is why the legislative, executive, and judicial branches are separate. It is why we have a bicameral legislature.

Term limits are a natural and necessary extension of this principle. Thomas Jefferson believed they were essential to the preservation of liberty. Lincoln agreed. So did Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and John Kennedy.

Professor Kesler tries to make it appear that the Founding Fathers rejected the principle by quoting Alexander Hamilton. But Hamilton's Federalists—who favored, among other things, a monarchy for the United States—were a small elite swiftly swept from power. Professor Kesler can hang out with Hamilton, if he chooses. I prefer the company of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Professor Kesler warns that term limits would cost us experience. And Congress today is more "experienced" than ever. And what has it gotten us? A $2.4 trillion debt, $200 billion deficit, higher than wartime levels of taxation during a time of global peace, and the S&L scandal, which will cost more to clean up than it cost to fight World War II.

Some say we could get the benefit of term limits without imposing them if we'd take action against the PACs, abuse of the frank, etc. But congressmen created these abuses precisely to perpetuate themselves in office.

Congress was supposed to be filled with men and women ex-

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perienced in various walks of life, not experienced only in feeding off the public trough. The only way to make Congress representative again is to do what Thomas Jefferson said we should do in the first place, and limit terms of office.

Terry Considine
State Senator
Denver, CO

Breaking the Cycle

Dear Sir:

Charles R. Kesler argues that Republicans should resist the cause to limit congressional terms and, instead, focus on larger, "strategic political questions" in order to advance electoral successes. His conclusion, though, seems to ignore a key premise in his argument.

Kesler argues that congressmen have essentially become "ombudsmen" between citizens and a growing centralized government. The modern congressman is more administrator than legislator, and voters are increasingly likely to base their votes on the quality of service delivered by their representatives rather than their voting record. Democrats, the guardians of big government, are more likely to succeed as administrative ombudsmen.

So, how to break this wedge between voters and those who broker government benefits in Washington? Kesler suggests that Republicans would do best by asking Americans whether they really want a big centralized government. However, will voters who, according to Kesler, are increasingly enchanted with congressmen as ombudsmen be ready to break that relationship over such strategic questions?

Maybe, but I think it is unlikely. The record proves that challengers face nearly impossible odds in dislodging incumbents, in part because office holders are able to deliver key services to their constituents. Term limitations will break the cycle by turning out incumbents on a regular basis. Candidates, unable to make a career out of Congress, will be freer to focus on ideas and idealism rather than on promises to deliver big government to constituents. I think it is in this context that offering "strategic" questions to voters will be most successful.

Thus, rather than empower the bureaucracy, term limitations would break it. Disgruntled constituents would demand that the bureaucracy be shrunk, and new congressmen will be eager to comply. Finally, the argument that congressional staff will be empowered ignores the facts about existing staff turnover. According to recent studies, tenure for even the most senior staff is well below the 12-year limitation for members of Congress that I am proposing. Congressional staff, moreover, are not tenured and serve at the pleasure of members. It has been my experience that members rarely are led around by staff.

Senator Gordon J. Humphrey
(R–NH)
Washington, DC

Electing New Blood

Dear Sir:

Although Charles R. Kesler's article was excellent, he unfortunately reached the wrong conclusion.

Limiting congressional terms does not solve all of the problems of the Congress, but it is one of the many reforms that should be taken.

Serving in Congress has become a profession. The goal should be to return to the practice of citizen legislators, who serve their country in many different ways.

Limiting terms is not the only reform needed. We need to free political parties to participate fully in congressional elections. We need a national system to insure competitive redistricting. We need to reduce the number of staff and restrict unsolicited franked mail. We need to stop the pork and reduce the congressional role of ombudsman. We also need to limit terms.

Limiting terms will make congressional service available to more people, which will insure that more talented people who would like to serve will get a chance to do so. Limiting terms will free up the system to make junior members more effective. Limiting terms will encourage more people to emulate Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, who each gave a lifetime of service in the House, Senate, and the executive branch, rather than current con-

Institutional reform often backfires when it is guided by covert political considerations rather than a serious consideration of constitutional principles.

—David K. Nichols

gressional leaders who settle down to a lifetime in Congress.

Over-Seasoned Veterans

It is true, as Kesler asserts, that the congressman's job is now as much administrative as political or legislative. But the solution to this problem is not a system that allows 98 percent of all congressmen to continue in office as long as they care to. In fact, the reverse is true. Those who have been in Congress for a long time get very good at case

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work and treat it as the major part of their job more frequently than junior members do. My experience has been that junior members of Congress of both parties are very committed to what they believe in and work at legislating. The longer they stay, with few exceptions, the more they spend their energy on pork-barrel projects for their district and on constituent care.

For the same reason, limiting terms will reduce the influence of staff. Freshmen almost always want to do things themselves—that's what they came to Congress to do. It is the senior members who require and trust the unelected staff.

So I say, let's get on with it. Let's limit congressional terms in order to get a Congress composed of younger, more aggressive citizens to replace the older, more complacent professionals who are there now. The ones that prove to be indispensable can run again after breaking the cycle of incumbency or they can serve in other capacities. It would be especially rewarding to the nation if a large number of them returned to their communities not only to use their experience to help in new ways, but also to serve as role models to others who may join them in a lifetime of service both in and out of government.

Howard H. (Bo) Callaway
Member, 89th Congress (R–GA)
Mt. Crested Butte, CO

Conversion Experience

Dear Sir:

Charles R. Kesler's enlightening piece on the movement to limit congressional terms keeps the high standard he has set for himself. In fact, his discussion of the historical and contemporary issues was so even-handed that it persuaded me to change from an opponent to a supporter of term limitations.

It seems to me that Kesler's strongest argument against the proposal, that the power of bureaucrats and the size of congressional staffs might grow if consecutive years in office were limited to 12, can be met by an even further limitation of representatives to either 6 or 4 years. The objective is to reduce incentives to create new federal agencies that congressmen can exploit. The shorter their maximum stay, the less they will want to do to ensure it and the less expert they can become at being intercessors for their constituents with the centralized bureaucracy. Once representatives are pried loose from their symbiotic role, senators, originally intended as the principal repositories of legislative experience and dispassionate deliberation, can retain their right to unlimited reelection with even greater assurance for the public.

Junior members of Congress of both parties are very committed to what they believe in and work at legislating. The longer they stay, the more they spend their energy on pork-barrel projects for their district and on constituent care.
—Howard H. (Bo) Callaway

W. Dain Oliver
Newton Highlands, MA

Progressive Rhetoric

Dear Sir:

Charles R. Kesler has provided a much-needed reminder of the Founders' objections to term limitations for the president and members of Congress. If anything, Kesler is too kind to the conservative supporters of term limitations. He might have explained that this proposal is more consistent with the spirit of the Progressive reformers than with the conservative tradition of American political thought. It was the Progressives who believed that institutional reforms could guarantee "correct" political outcomes, and it was the Progressives who thought that the proper institutional arrangements would suppress the need for politics in government.

Conservatives have been all too eager to jump on the bandwagon for this proposal because it appears to be consistent with their criticisms of the federal government in general and the Democratically controlled Congress in particular. Limiting congressional terms is a convenient weapon with which to attack the "Washington establishment." As Kesler points out, however, it is more of a distraction than a weapon. Institutional reform often backfires when it is guided by covert political considerations rather than a serious consideration of constitutional principles. If conservatives need a concrete example, they should be reminded of the 22nd Amendment. Republicans eager for revenge against FDR eagerly supported the amendment limiting the president to two terms. But if anyone has been hurt by the 22nd Amendment it is not the Democrats, but the Republicans who have dominated the presidency in the postwar years.

No Shortcuts

Institutional arrangements are not suited to short-term goals. Institutional arrangements create incentives that encourage, but do not necessarily guarantee, better government over the long run. Politics is the arena in which direction of government policy must be thrashed out. There is no easy shortcut to better government through progressive "good government" reforms.

What is perhaps most disturbing is that the conservative support for reform accepts a short-sighted populist rhetoric. It is easy to score populist points by mouthing platitudes such as "get the bums out," or "make them work for a living like everyone else." But not only is that rhetoric inconsistent with a healthy respect for constitutional government, in the case of term limitations it is inconsistent with democracy and popular opinion

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over the long run. The strength of conservatism in recent years is that it has been seen as a democratic alternative to liberals who want decisions to be made by unelected bureaucrats or judges. But now conservatives want to limit the ability of the people to choose their most immediate representatives. The claim is that this will make the representatives more responsive to the people. But such a claim is based on the assumption that the people are a poor judge of who responds to their desires and interests. Such an argument is not likely to be very popular in the long run.

If conservatives don't think the policies of the current Congress are in the best interest of the people, then they should vigorously debate those policies in the political arena. They should not sell out their constitutional principles, in search of the illusory benefits of an essentially liberal/progressive reform.

David K. Nichols
Professor of Political Science
Montclair State College
Upper Montclair, NJ

Informing the Public

Dear Sir:

In his persuasive article opposing congressional term limitations, Charles R. Kesler points out that in the past 20 to 30 years members of Congress have emphasized "case work or constituent service and pork-barrel activities as a way to ensure their reelection." I would add that public exposure of certain forms of case work and constituency service not only will create more turnover in Congress but also will provide an incentive not to practice them. Media accounts of the damaging interventions of former House Speaker Jim Wright and the Keating Five in the savings and loan debacle will make congressmen think twice about case work that goes beyond cutting red tape for widows and veterans.

Continual disclosure of congressional practices, whether it be micromanaging HUD, improper pressures on regulators or the fiasco that passes for a congressional budget process, will do more to solve the problem than term limitations. The people are not fools, but they are unaware because they are uninformed by a press corps that, obsessed with the presidency, has largely ignored the less glamorous but growing problems of Congress and the administrative state.

Public exposure of certain forms of case work and constituency service not only will create more turnover in Congress but also will provide an incentive not to practice them.
—Judith A. Best

Of Laws and Sausages

The "agenda-setting" effect of the media is beginning to be recognized, and can be used to increase public awareness of how Congress actually works and why. A little more than a year ago, I gave an address titled "Of Laws and Sausages" to a group of high school students. My thesis was that Bismarck was wrong when he remarked that "Men should not know how their laws or sausages are made." Wrong about laws, at least. I then proceeded to describe the congressional budgetary process, a subject my colleagues warned me would put them to sleep. They reacted like disturbed hornets, swarming around me and demanding to know what they could do to stop it.

Term limitations are not the answer. Instead, give these congressional practices a prominent place on the public agenda. Clearly and repeatedly set the facts before the people. They can and must be trusted to control their representatives once they are informed about what those representatives are doing.

Judith A. Best
Distinguished Teaching Professor
State University College at Cortland
Cortland, NY

Charles R. Kesler replies:

My thanks for the kind comments of Judith Best, David Nichols, and Walter Dean Burnham. I am cheered that these distinguished scholars, so diverse in their political views, can share a constitutional view of this question.

Professor Best makes the shrewd point that the scandals surrounding former Speaker Wright and the Keating Five show that the public will become properly outraged if the facts and the costs of congressional corruption are made known to them. I would add that it is not only the media but also our political parties that must focus attention on these issues.

Professor Nichols is right to sniff out a Progressive and indeed Populist legacy to this kind of "reform," and he and Professor Burnham raise the important case of the 22nd Amendment as an example of the deleterious and unintended consequences of constitutional change. One wonders why many of the same people who in 1988 were keen to repeal that amendment are now calling for similar limitations on Congress. If it was democratic then to let the president serve more than two terms, how can it be democratic now to restrict the terms of congressmen?

Making Hay

I am glad that most of my critics acknowledge my sincere attempt to be even-handed in weighing the arguments on both sides, though I regret being so fair that W. Dain Oliver has been seduced into embracing the wrong side. I agree with him that the proposed limits on congressional tenure would make more sense if they were stricter and allowed representatives only two or three terms in office. But I still think they would backfire. The incentives to "make hay while the sun shines" increase as a congressman's tenure contracts; so does the potential for

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his staff and the permanent bureaucracy to bamboozle him. Even with the best of intentions, if Mr. Oliver had a maximum of four years in office and were suddenly plunged into the labyrinthine congressional budget process, in which he was up against staffers and bureaucrats who knew they would still be in Washington long after he was back in Massachusetts, what sort of odds would we give him?

Senator Gordon Humphrey and Professor Connelly detect a contradiction in my argument. If the job of congressman is now as much administrative (*i.e.*, constituent service and pork-barrel) as legislative, how can Republicans be expected to defeat Democrats by renouncing the very thing that works, the ad-

ministrative services that their constituents expect? Now this is an odd and ultimately pernicious chain of reasoning. Senator Humphrey holds in effect that if you ask the American people directly whether they want "a big centralized government," they will say yes. The only way to get rid of Big Government, therefore, is to rotate national legislators out of office after 12 years. Candidates would then be free to focus on "ideas and idealism" rather than on promises to bring home the bacon. But why would the public, inured to pork-barrel and constituent benefits, suddenly settle for "ideas and idealism"? Is it not more likely that they would demand—and get—more of the same from their representatives, 12 years at a stretch?

It seems to me that one ought not to expect the American people to renounce those goodies without giving them a good reason for doing so. In other words, one must wage a hard-fought, protracted political battle over why it is not *right* for favored groups of citizens to live more and more as dependents of the federal government. In conducting such a fateful political campaign, the length of time congressmen serve is hardly a relevant consideration. One does not primarily need new faces in Congress, but a new spirit in the American people, which will elect new faces as they are needed.

Contemporary environmental philosophy, in my view, owes much more to the theology of St. Francis and St. Benedict than to that of Martin Luther or John Calvin—let alone Karl Marx!

—William K. Reilly

The Spirit of the Laws

But Senator Humphrey and the advocates of term limitations would distract conservatives from the crucial battle for public opinion by engaging them in a misconceived assault on the Constitution. Rather than persuade the public to make the administrative state constitutional, they urge us to try to change the Constitution so that the public, more or less despite itself, will administer the government more parsimoniously. Senator Humphrey and his allies begin, in other words, from the tacit premise that the people do not have sense or virtue enough to govern themselves, or even to reform themselves, nowadays without an arbitrary restriction on the selection of their own representatives. Personally, I think they do the American public a disservice by confusing it with the perverse and tenacious will of the many organized interest groups claiming to speak in its name.

Finally, Bo Callaway and Terry Considine mount spirited defenses of the idea of term limitations, but their admirable spirit would be better applied to the serious political questions dividing our political parties than to this constitutional cure-all. Alas for Mr. Considine, the Federalists were not monarchists (despite what Jefferson said about them), and neither the Jeffersonian Democrats nor the Lincolnian Republicans favored a constitutional amendment to limit congressional tenure in office. In fact, the Federalists, Jefferson, and Lincoln all agreed that the people ought to be free, under the Constitution, to choose and discharge their representatives at will. That, and a reverence for the Constitution, were essential ingredients of self-government, which today's populists would do well to remember.

Green Pastors

Dear Sir:

In "Unoriginal Sin: The Judeo-Christian Roots of Ecotheology" (Summer 1990), Robert H. Nelson makes a valid and important point: There is much in the Judeo-Christian tradition that can inform and inspire contemporary environmental values. Environmentalism is about reconciling humanity more satisfactorily with nature—with the natural systems upon which human life and civilization depend. Our place in nature imposes a moral obligation: We must acknowledge that the natural systems of which we are a part have an intrinsic worth that transcends narrow utilitarian values, and must be respected for their own sake. Thus environmentalism has a vital *spiritual* dimension to which religious teachings can make a valuable contribution.

I must, however, point out that the "ecotheology" described by Mr. Nelson—a retrogressive, anti-growth philosophy—is embraced by only a small, albeit vocal, segment of the

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environmental movement. In devoting so much attention to an exegesis of this relatively unrepresentative viewpoint, Mr. Nelson neglects a number of more relevant spiritual precursors of mainstream environmentalism.

Two Traditions

The American environmental movement, and the conservation ethic from which it grew, traces its intellectual and spiritual roots along two main branches. One is through Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt and John James Audubon back to Thomas Jefferson. The notions of stewardship and the wise, sustainable use of natural resources are associated with this tradition.

A second branch includes Aldo Leopold, John Muir, and Henry David Thoreau; the transcendentalism of Coleridge, Emerson, and Whitman; and the mysticism and love of the land of the American Indian. This second more mystical preservationist branch is responsible for a uniquely compelling wilderness ideal—one that sees, in the words of John Muir, as a state of being, a"practical sort of mortality" in which "all the world's prizes seem as nothing."

Both are powerful traditions, and both have had a profound impact on American values and policy. Emerson, for example, sought to heal the schism between humanity and nature that resulted from the American settlement and westward expansion; he tried to dispel the myth that in order to survive, humans were obliged to subdue and conquer nature rather than find ways to live in harmony with it. Emerson's vision finds expression today in society's growing emphasis on conserving resources, reducing waste, and pursuing environmentally sound business practices. At the same time, the stewardship tradition of Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot inspires the environmental philosophy of the Bush administration, as well as the newly emerging concern for achieving sustainable economic growth.

Saints and Stewards

The writers and conservation leaders of the 19th and 20th centuries rarely acknowledged it, but they owed much of their philosophy to intellectual traditions long established in the Western Church. One, the tradition of sustainable use and stewardship, reaches to St. Benedict. St. Benedict created a religious order that confidently shaped, reformed, and nurtured the earth, rendering it more beautiful, more practical, and more productive. The second branch, the tradition of preservation, of reverence for wilderness, and protection for all living things, virtually began with St. Francis of Assisi. St. Francis, with his reverence for animals, his love of nature unaltered, his spirited regard for brother sun and sister moon, anticipated the American wilderness ideal.

Contemporary environmental philosophy, in my view, owes much more to the theology of St. Francis and St. Benedict than to that of Martin Luther or John Calvin—let alone Karl Marx! It is not pessimism, alienation, and industrophobia, but an ethic of dynamic environmental stewardship grounded in religious faith—tracing its roots to the enlightened teachings of St. Benedict and St. Francis—that offers humanity a firm spiritual foundation for the creation of an environmentally sound, sustainable future.

William K. Reilly
Administrator
U.S. Environmental
Protection Agency
Washington, DC

Environmentalists have much to teach us about the dangers of deifying ourselves; but environmentalists are intellectually incoherent insofar as they ask us to deify nature and diabolize ourselves.

—Joel Schwartz

"Ecotheology" Is Liberal, Not Religious

Dear Sir:

Whenever developments take place that we find difficult to understand, especially when the people involved demonstrate passionate commitment, the claim goes out that those demonstrating such ardor are part of a new religion. If this keeps up, there will soon be more sects than there are people. All that is required, apparently, is to show deep commitment connected to disregard of evidence and new religions are supposed to be sprouting up all over. Yet the most cursory examination of the contemporary scene reveals profound difficulties with considering environmentalism or related movements to be religions, new or old.

Has the reader observed Protestant Fundamentalists in the forefront of the environmental movement? It would be a safe bet that the more liberal the religion, let us say the fewer times God is mentioned in a service as compared to the number of times gender or race is heard, the more committed it is to environmentalism. Between Orthodox and Reformed Jews, for instance, there is not only a vast difference in life-style but the Reformed are far more likely to support the environmental movement. Are liberal Protestants and Reformed Jews, then, attracted to the allegedly new religion of environmentalism because their attachment to their existing religion is too weak, or might we not conclude directly that it is the more religious who are attracted to religious movements and not the less religious, let alone the irreligious?

Over the plethora of surveys on support for environmental and safety matters the factors that matter most by far are trust in institutions

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and liberal or conservative self-ratings. The more religious (with the exception of a few groups, like the Sojourners) are more trusting in American institutions than the less religious. Religious orthodoxy and political conservatism go together. Clearly, one has to look elsewhere than religion if one is to make sense of environmentalism.

Equality and Revolution

A person who is a committed environmentalist not merely on one such issue but on many from chemical carcinogens to spotted owls fits a well-defined contemporary liberal profile: less defense, more social welfare, higher taxes, especially on richer people, against limits on artistic expression, however demeaning to religion, for restriction in campus speech if believed derogatory to minorities, against prayer in public schools but for a woman's right to determine whether she will have an abortion. What holds these views together is that they are all based on a belief in the desirability of greater equality of condition among Americans. Holders of these positions seek to reduce differences among people, whether these be economic or social or moral.

It could be said that environmentalists stand in awe of the wonders of nature, and that this is equivalent to a religious feeling. They do want to keep nature exactly as it is but not society. Thus we have a combination of desire for continuous large-scale change in society together with the most reactionary stand imaginable, would require more contortions than usual, however, to envisage animals, plants, trees, and rivers as made in the image of God with human beings destined to be their servants.

I have gone to some length to disagree with the thesis of Robert Nelson's "Unoriginal Sin," which has a great deal worth saying about the texture of environmentalism, because I believe it puts us on the wrong path. It suggests that we are dealing with people just like us who could readily find a home in the midst of Judeo-Christian values if only they were informed that their values are much like ours. Alas, it is precisely those individualistic and hierarchical values they reject in favor of equality of condition. The struggle is not about "the environment" but about how we ought to live with each other.

Aaron Wildavsky
Survey Research Center
University of California
Berkeley, California

Environmentalism Needs Moral Base

Dear Sir:

To be sure, the Bible from the outset encompasses the ethical imperative of cosmic responsibility and environmental stewardship, as Robert Nelson notes.

What needs also to be emphasized is that humanistic protests against pillaging natural resources ultimately lack moral authority. The

inordinate self-interest. The naturalistic thesis that our universe is a cosmic accident, and that all existence is engulfed by evolutionary change and bears an expiration date, cannot accommodate fixed and final moral principles.

At the same time one must concede that Christians and Jews sometimes grossly violate their theological insights, as do others. Humanists should be commended when they take proper ethical positions, even if they are not consistently sheltered by their canopy convictions and frequently are open to radical exploitation. And Christian theologians who appeal to the Bible to commend specific ethical concerns should be reminded that the critical attitude toward Scripture to which many contemporary scholars are addicted gives them little consistent basis for appealing eagerly to facets of Scripture they would enthusiastically applaud.

Incentive from Above

The problem of authority remains crucial for contemporary society. There is no indication that moral imperatives will regain their transcendent awe and power apart from a recovery of God the Creator known in His revealed will and word. Yet it is preferable—if not durable—to do what is right for deficient reasons than to applaud what is wrong for no valid reasons at all.

Environmental concern is a legitimate and inescapable evangelical responsibility. Evangelical Christianity ought to be in the forefront of a morally and spiritually nuanced view of nature that preserves the industrial revolution at its best.

Carl F. H. Henry
Arlington, VA

Environmentalism as a secular religion cannot rise above utilitarianism, and utilitarianism will not long outrun inordinate self-interest.

—Carl F. H. Henry

i.e., no change, no evolution, no death, in regard to the natural world. It is as if all living things were natural but only humankind is unnatural.

Our holy books are so great and varied that one can find a rationale for many different positions. It naturalistic view that reality reduces ultimately to impersonal processes and quantum events provides no convincing basis for fixed and final ethical imperatives. Environmentalism as a secular religion cannot rise above utilitarianism, and utilitarianism will not long outrun

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Christianity Conducive to Stewardship

Dear Sir:

I agree with Robert Nelson that by their rejection of the personal God of Christianity and by refusing to see mankind as stewards for the Creator, the neopantheistic environmentalists have abandoned the worldview that holds the most promise for the future. Instead they continue to make the error of Adam and Eve: they make God too small and man too large.

No wonder many environmentalists become desperados like the Earth Firsters. Their God cannot love, cannot reason, cannot judge, and cannot choose to rise in vengeance against the evildoer. They do not have the reassurance of the Christian who believes this prophecy of the apostle John regarding the future: "The time has come for judging the dead, and for rewarding your servants the prophets and your saints and those who reverence your name, both small and great—and for destroying those who destroy the earth" (Revelation 11:18).

Pantheism and Relativism

Francis Schaeffer, in his classic book on ecology *Pollution and the Death of Man*, points out the eventuality of the pantheistic view of nature: "Those who propose the pantheistic answer ignore this fact—that far from raising nature to man's height, pantheism must push both man and nature down into a bog....There is eventually no reason to distinguish bad nature from good nature. Pantheism leaves us with the Marquis de Sade's dictum, 'What is, is right,' in morals, and man becomes no more than grass." The showcase for pantheism today is India. If the environmental condition of India is a picture of our future under pantheistic environmentalism, then to cry "God, help us!" is to offer a reverent prayer.

Nelson offers a better way when he suggests that, "The responsibility to be good stewards of the earth follows from the essence of the biblical creation message—that man alone among creatures was created in the image of God and that man therefore has unique responsibilities for the rest of the earth."

Dean A. Ohlman
President
Christian Nature Federation
Fullerton, CA

Contempt for Man

Dear Sir:

Robert H. Nelson is to be saluted for his insightful essay. Contemporary environmentalism is religious in outlook; unfortunately, the environmentalist religion too often is simplistic in its vision of both man and nature in ways that sharply differentiate it from Judaism or Christianity.

Bill McKibben's *The End of Nature*, to which Nelson refers, exemplifies my point. McKibben describes himself as "a reasonably orthodox Methodist," but in celebrating the joys of the religion of nature he sounds more like a pagan attacking Christianity. In nature McKibben claims to find "the overwhelming sense of the goodness and sweetness at work in the world," which he prefers to the more traditional religious "numbing categories that *men* [my emphasis] have devised...sin and redemption and incarnation and so on." McKibben goes on to refer to the Calvinism of John Muir's father as a "grim and selfish religion." With "reasonably orthodox" coreligionists like these, Methodists have little need of unreasonably heterodox opponents.

Smelly Dictators

But as Nelson's analysis would lead us to expect, McKibben's celebration of the joys of nature goes only so far. Specifically, it extends only to the point of man's existence, since McKibben understands man primarily as the malevolent archenemy of benevolent nature. "We sit astride the world," McKibben writes, "like some military dictator, some smelly Papa Doc—we are able to wreak violence with great efficiency, and to destroy all that is good and worthwhile, but not to exercise power to any real end." Here we have a perfect example of the religious tradition that John Courtney Murray described as "contempt for the world."

There is, of course, a sense in which serious Jews and Christians must agree that men are contemptible—but that is because they take seriously the category of sinfulness that McKibben appears to find ludicrous but nevertheless is forced to employ. And serious Jews and Christians balance their contempt for men with respect, seeing men not only as actual sinners but also as (at least potential) repentants. This balanced view is nicely captured in the Jewish injunction that we should always carry two slips of paper with us—one reminding us that we are nothing but dust and ashes, the other pointing out that the world was created on our behalf. Both perspectives are needed if environmentalists are to affirm the worldly in a serious and sober manner. Environmentalists have much to teach us about the dangers of deifying ourselves; but as Nelson argues, environmentalists are intellectually incoherent insofar as they ask us to deify nature and diabolize ourselves.

Joel Schwartz
Executive Editor
The Public Interest
Washington, DC

Environmental Cloisters

Dear Sir:

Robert Nelson's provocative essay makes it evident why so little progress has been made in rationalizing environmental policy. As Americans have come to value bald eagles as well as chickens, aquifers as well as swimming pools, wilderness areas as well as plantation forests, and rivers as well as pipelines, they have naturally fol-

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lowed the lead of the eco-theocrats who preach the gospel of Mother Nature and decry markets.

As a result, free-market environmental approaches have made few converts among environmental leaders. Antipathy to markets is not the only problem, of course; those now controlling environmental policy naturally fear that their power may be reduced if people rather than bureaucrats determine environmental policy. But, in large part, such opposition reflects the view that any comparison of economic and environmental values is wrong. Sacred environmental values cannot be defiled by pro-economic growth infidels.

Historically, of course, environmentalism is but the latest religious movement to sweep the world. Such waves have often done much good, restoring the ethical integrity of secularized societies. However, religious zealots have too often rushed to employ the coercive power of the state to advance their private beliefs—always, of course, for the good of all. In the traditional religious sphere, zealots have often killed adherents of other faiths. Nelson's analysis suggests that America is now experiencing the excesses of an intolerant and abrasive new faith. And while to date more money than blood has been spent in this struggle, the Earth First! radical element has steadily gained ground and growing conflict seems likely. The world might yet see environmentalists marching together beneath green banners in a worldwide eco-theocratic jihad.

Protecting Values

Religious history suggests that environmental values are best advanced by other means. Free societies have found that deeply held beliefs (even popular ones) do not justify conversions by force. In a free society, religious differences are reconciled by first developing arrangements whereby values can be privately defended and by then moving to separate church and state. Environmentalists might well ponder this experience.

To achieve the first goal, a system of private property is essential. Private property rights make it possible for diverse beliefs to control their own sacred places. Only Moslems may enter Mecca; cloistered convents and monasteries are off-limits even to most devout Catholics; and the Mormon Temple in Salt Lake City is closed to non-Mormons. The Hutterites and the Amish have been able to protect values that conflict with those of modern society by locating themselves in private communities, separate from the hustle of contemporary America. Similarly, might not our modern environmental Druids purchase and thereby protect privately their Sacred Groves, rather than force this burden on the taxpayer?

Environmentalists want all resources to be protected and argue that all the people of the world must accept the primacy of the new environmental ethos, but similar claims have long been made by the traditionally religious. Fundamentalists have long believed that sinful man threatens Earth, as related in the biblical accounts of Sodom and Gomorrah or the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Nonetheless, these groups have not been permitted to force others to change their behavior. They are, of course, free to proselytize, to persuade others of the rightness of their beliefs. The separation of church and state principle merely forbids a resort to force.

Reforms are needed to enable private parties to protect environmental values. Just as Jews in Europe or Mormons in pre-civil war America found it difficult to own property and thus to protect their values privately, so also environmentalists face difficulties in purchasing and protecting those things they hold sacred. Ownership of American wildlife is extremely difficult (animals are the property of the "state"). Many amenity areas—parks, wilderness areas, coastal regions, deserts, rivers, lakes, airsheds—are managed politically and private parties cannot easily gain proprietorship control over these resources. Indeed, all current policies should be rethought so that all Americans can claim their share of the environmental estate.

Subsidized Cathedrals

Nelson's analysis also suggests that environmental leaders consider the reforms initiated by Oliver Cromwell, a religious leader of England in the 17th century. Cromwell and his Puritan coreligionists held very strong views and politically dominated England. However, Cromwell recognized that England was a pluralistic country and that not all Englishmen had become Puritans. He used his temporal powers to refashion the institutions of England to ensure that Puritan values could be better protected. As a result, both religious tolerance and private property policies gained ground during his reign.

Might not those now dominating the environmental movement—and for the moment the nation—adopt similar policies? After all, the sacred places and things revered by the environmentalists—the old growth forest in the Northwest, wild and scenic rivers, the wilderness refuges—may well be seen as Cathedrals of Nature. But, should the cathedrals of any faith be state-controlled and state-subsidized? History suggests that state-controlled churches are all too likely to become merely another battleground rather than sanctuaries for values momentarily in decline. Moreover, nonbelievers resent being required to

The sacred places revered by the environmentalists may well be Cathedrals of Nature. But, should the cathedrals of any faith be state-controlled and state-subsidized?

–Fred Lee Smith Jr.

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subsidize these environmental cathedrals, and that resentment suggests a reversal of environmental gains when the green tide again ebbs. The confiscation of church properties in England indicates that such concerns are not imaginary.

The People's Religion

Nelson's article suggests that the environmental movement use its present power to create a more secure world for environmental values. As the history of religious conflict suggests, this result might best be advanced by transferring environmental resources from the state to the people. Most Bureau of Land Management lands, for example, would go to ranchers; some to wilderness groups; others to hunting or camping associations. Aquifers could be transferred to private water management associations and managed much as are oil fields today. Moreover, all laws limiting the ability of individuals and groups to assume the environmental stewardship responsibilities assigned individuals under the Judeo-Christian tradition should be repealed. People, not politics, should direct environmental policy.

Such an environmental privatization effort would not weaken environmental values. Note that the Scandinavian states, which retained state religions, have beautiful but largely empty churches. The Environmental Faithful should learn from that history and move now to ensure the permanent protection of their sacred places. Environmental, like religious, values are best advanced privately, not politically.

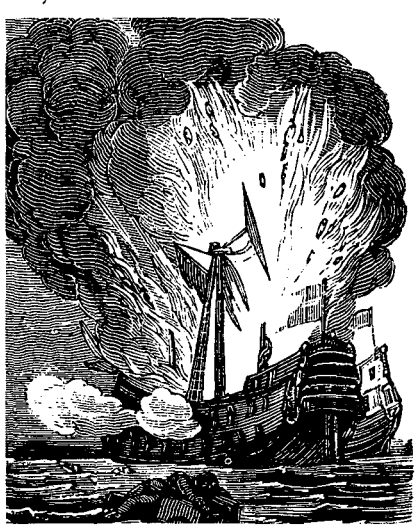
Fred Lee Smith Jr.
Competitive Enterprise Institute
Washington, DC

Don't Reserve the Navy

Dear Sir:

Now that the Soviet Union has replaced the Brezhnev doctrine with the Sinatra doctrine there is little doubt that the Cold War is over. Nor is there much doubt that because of Gramm-Rudman and Gorbachev defense spending will decline precipitously in this decade. What is in doubt is the nature of the military threat to our national interests in the post-containment era and the most cost-effective mix of military forces to deal with that threat.

In his article, "Half-Speed Ahead: Budget Strategy for a Strong Navy" (Summer 1990), former Secretary of the Navy John Lehman offers a dual prescription for dealing with the new environment: Emphasize the Navy above the other services and shift a significant portion of the Navy to the reserves. However, he offers no compelling reason for adopting either prescription. Moreover, his prescriptions are contradictory. According to Lehman, the United States needs a large Navy because we are a maritime nation with vital interests in five oceanic regions. Is not this country also an aerospace nation with interests in several continental areas? Furthermore, Lehman never tells us how large this Navy should be nor how its mission



relates to that of the Army and Air Force. Indeed, these services appear to have no missions at all in Lehman's post-Cold War world.

Dry-Dock Reasoning

If one accepts Lehman's rationale for the large Navy, then it is difficult to accept his argument that a "significant portion" (half?) should be shifted to the ready reserve. If the Navy needs to be "large" to protect our worldwide interests, then it makes little sense to tie up a significant portion of it at the dock during the week.

His primary reason for shifting a significant portion of the fleet to the reserves is cost. Lehman estimates that manning ships and squadrons with a 50 percent active duty/50 percent reserve mix would save $10 billion a year. Since the total operations and maintenance budget for Navy general forces in fiscal year 1990 is $10.5 billion, this would be quite an accomplishment. The real savings from Lehman's scheme, even if fully implemented, would be much closer to $1 billion than $10 billion. Nor does Lehman tell us how the reserves will solve the demographic problems associated with placing so many ships into a comparatively small number of East and West Coast ports, or how the natural reluctance of politicians to call up the reserves will be overcome.

Lehman is correct in saying that the Navy of the 1990s (as well as Army, Air Force, and Marines) can rely more on their reserve components. But this is not because the reserves will grow significantly. Rather it is because the size of the active force will decline precipitously. The active-duty Navy now stands at about 590,000 and the Naval Reserves at 150,000, or about 3.9 active to 1 reserve. In a decade, the ratio will be about 2.5 to 1. (By the turn of the century the Army and Air Force will be about 1 to 1.)

The size of the total Navy should decline at about the same rate as the total Army and Air Force. However, the active-duty Navy should decline less than the other services precisely because it needs to be deployed around the world on a more or less regular basis.

Lawrence J. Korb
Director
Center for Public Policy Education
The Brookings Institution
Washington, DC

Battleship Is Outdated

Dear Sir:

John Lehman's advocacy of the battleship, and the specious reasoning with which he tries to support it, betray an apparent inability to understand the nature of science and technology generally and military science and technology in particular.

The exercise of the scientific method and the progress of its resultant technologies do not proceed along even arithmetical curves. Their advance is geometrical—and often very steeply geometrical, to the

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point where the curves describing them are overtaken by new curves. (Thus, no sooner had conventional artillery reached the apparent peak of its development than it was overtaken by guided missiles.)

Tough Lessons

Mr. Lehman's argument ignores all this and presents us with an essentially static picture of sea/air warfare. It ignores the unhappy history of the battlewagon in World War II. It ignores the lessons of Eniwetok and Bikini. To say that battleships need only a bit of updating to remain militarily viable into the 21st century and to support this by citing the 75-year service of Nelson's *Victory* is almost like saying that all horses needed to keep cavalry alive was tougher skins, or that updated Sopwith Camels would have served the RAF as well in the Battle of Britain as their Spitfires and Hurricanes.

Again, Mr. Lehman cites nothing more potent than the Exocet as a counter-battleship weapon, when it should be obvious that the one area in which tactical nuclear warheads are most likely to be used without provoking mutual assured destruction is at sea.

We should not forget that we are living on the sharp cutting edge of 45 years of what amounts to wartime military secrecy, and though we may not know exactly what new weaponry exists, some of it may well be orders of magnitude more powerful than anything that has, like the Exocet, been publicized.

Sitting Ducks

The battleship, like the giant carrier, is much more than an instrument for expressing destructive force. It is a huge concentration of military resources: money, time, materiel, men. In other words, its positive potential is not the whole story.

It is also a huge concentration of vulnerability—a great many eggs in one basket. What we put into building and maintaining battleships and giant carriers could have been, and still could be, better expended on the development of the fastest, cheapest, and simplest possible platforms mounting the most effective possible weapons, and that means the smartest missiles and, if the manned aircraft survives the 21st century—into the era, probably, of particle-beam and ray weapons—of advanced VSTOL aircraft which do not need floating football fields to land on.

Reginald Bretnor
Medford, OR

Reserves Are Integral

Dear Sir:

Once again *Policy Review* demonstrates remarkable prescience with its timely publication of John Lehman's "Half-Speed Ahead."

The events of August 1990 illustrate that, in spite of glasnost and our new relationships with the Communist bloc, the world is still a dangerous place (even if the dominant media culture perceives it as "less threatening"). As Lehman observes, "The size of the Navy is set not by what happens in Central Europe, but by the five oceanic regions in which we have vital interests....We must have naval force for each theater and all must be very high-capability forces."

Since the Congress is determined to cash in on its self-proclaimed "peace dividend," Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney has directed all the services to prepare for significant reductions in manpower and to prepare to restructure its active forces. This is indeed a daunting task, especially for the Navy. Lehman offers a sound and cost-effective policy to ensure that the U.S. Navy remains the finest fighting force in the world and, most importantly, responsive to the security of this nation.

The Naval Reserve will be an integral part of any future force structure. While there is institutional bias against a greater role for the Reserve, an enhanced role for the Reserve is nevertheless critical for this nation. As Lehman points out, Naval personnel policies must change with the times.

As the Navy sails into the 21st century, the Naval Reserve must *and* will take on a greater role.

Jerry Gideon
Senior Legislative Assistant
for Robert K. Dornan
U.S. House of Representatives
(R–CA)
(and LTJG USNR–R)
Washington, DC

Latins and Communists

Dear Sir:

I am writing in connection with Adam Meyerson's article "The Battle for the History Books" (Spring 1990). While I agree that the collapse of Communism came after a decade of "sustained conservative government in every major country of the Western world," the following statement by Mr. Meyerson is based on a serious misconception.

"Reagan goaded Nicaragua's neighbors into action by putting a spotlight on Sandinista abuses that most Latins initially ignored. Had the opposition been united, had Latin countries and the international community insisted on free elections 10 years ago, Reagan's support for the Contras would never have been necessary. The U.S. had to step into the breach because Latins did not have a strategy for excising the Communist cancer in their midst. We could now be seeing a political maturation in the region, with Latins taking the lead in protecting and expanding democracy."

Reagan Not the Inspiration

With the exceptions of Cuba and Haiti, every Latin American nation today is ruled by democratically elected governments. This fact seems to suggest a definite political maturation in the region. Nobody denies Reagan's immense influence

If one accepts Lehman's rationale for the large Navy, it is difficult to accept his argument that a "significant portion" should be shifted to the ready reserve.
–Lawrence J. Korb

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in the events that took place in Eastern Europe. But the democratization movement in Latin America took very little inspiration from him. With the exceptions of Nicaragua and Argentina, the democracy movement was a result of purely domestic situations. If any one person served as inspiration, it was Oscar Arias or Carlos Andres Perez, not Reagan. As I recall, Reagan did not make a single state visit to a South American country in his eight years in office.

Concerning Nicaragua, it is simply not true that the "Latins" did not have a strategy for excising the Communist cancer in their midst, or that they ignored Sandinista abuses. Venezuela's foreign policy has always stressed the importance of promoting democracy throughout the continent. The underlying premise has been that Venezuelan democracy is inextricably linked to the existence of stable democracies elsewhere in the region. This has been called the "Betancourt Doctrine." Venezuela suffered dearly from a guerrilla movement backed by Castro in the 1960s. In the case of the Sandinistas, Venezuela was involved, from the very beginning, in the effort to stop the spread of Marxism in Central America.

The Sandinistas got to power due to the aid received from the Venezuelan government. But when their true Marxist colors began to show, Venezuela's foreign policy changed completely and took a hostile pose toward Managua. After diplomatic pressure failed to make the Sandinistas keep their promise of free elections, aid payments were delayed, and oil grants were stopped altogether. At the same time, Venezuela launched a diplomatic campaign against Mexico because that country strongly supported the Sandinistas. Venezuela collaborated extensively with the U.S. in the formation of the Contras. In 1982, the Venezuelan Embassy in Managua was a center for anti-Sandinista action. Embassy personnel were even involved in sabotage against Nicaragua's largest oil refinery and cement plant. All of this was done with the knowledge and consent of the American government.

In the case of El Salvador, Venezuela's collaboration with the U.S. was even more widespread. Venezuela gave millions of dollars in economic aid to the government of José Napoleon Duarte (who had spent most of his years of exile in Caracas), and sent officers from the

elite "Cazadores" division to train the Salvadoran army. In 1981, the Venezuelan government rescinded an earlier decision to buy French Mirage fighters because of President Mitterand's support for the FMLN.

Other Latin American governments actively took part in the struggle to contain Marxism in Central America. Argentina sent dozens of military advisors to El Salvador, and was also actively involved in efforts to destabilize the Sandinista regime. On the whole, Latin America rejected Mexico's policy of unconditional support for Nicaragua, once the Sandinistas showed what they really were.

U.S. Untrustworthy

All of this changed when the United States openly supported Great Britain in the Falklands War. In the case of Venezuela, this action showed Washington's scorn for the Inter-American system, precisely when Venezuela was sharing the burden of stopping Communism in Central America. The United States had refused to help Argentina, an ally in Central America, thus portraying itself to most of Latin America as an untrustworthy ally. Caracas decided that a solution to the Nicaraguan problem had to be found through a method that excluded the United States. In late 1982, the Venezuelan president visited Managua, and halted all hostile measures against the Sandinistas. The Contadora Group was formed, to impede any further U.S. actions in Central America. They were marginally successful, as the Contadora Group was one of the deciding factors that led Congress to withhold aid to the Contras.

In the end, the United States policy had very little impact on the final outcome of the Nicaraguan question, as Mr. Meyerson correctly points out. The elections were a result of a plan envisioned by Arias, and enforced by diplomatic pressure from Latin America, and a Contra force that had not received significant U.S. aid since 1986.

In short, Reagan's support for the Contras, and all the pains this caused to his otherwise admirable administration, would never have been necessary if the U.S. had not alienated its Latin American friends in its shortsighted Falklands policy. Latin American democracies would have continued to bear most of the brunt. It was Latin Americans who found a solution to the problem.

Latin America does not fare well with the U.S. press, perhaps with reason. American conservatives should be aware that many people in this hemisphere share their convictions.

Roberto J. Ball
Caracas, Venezuela

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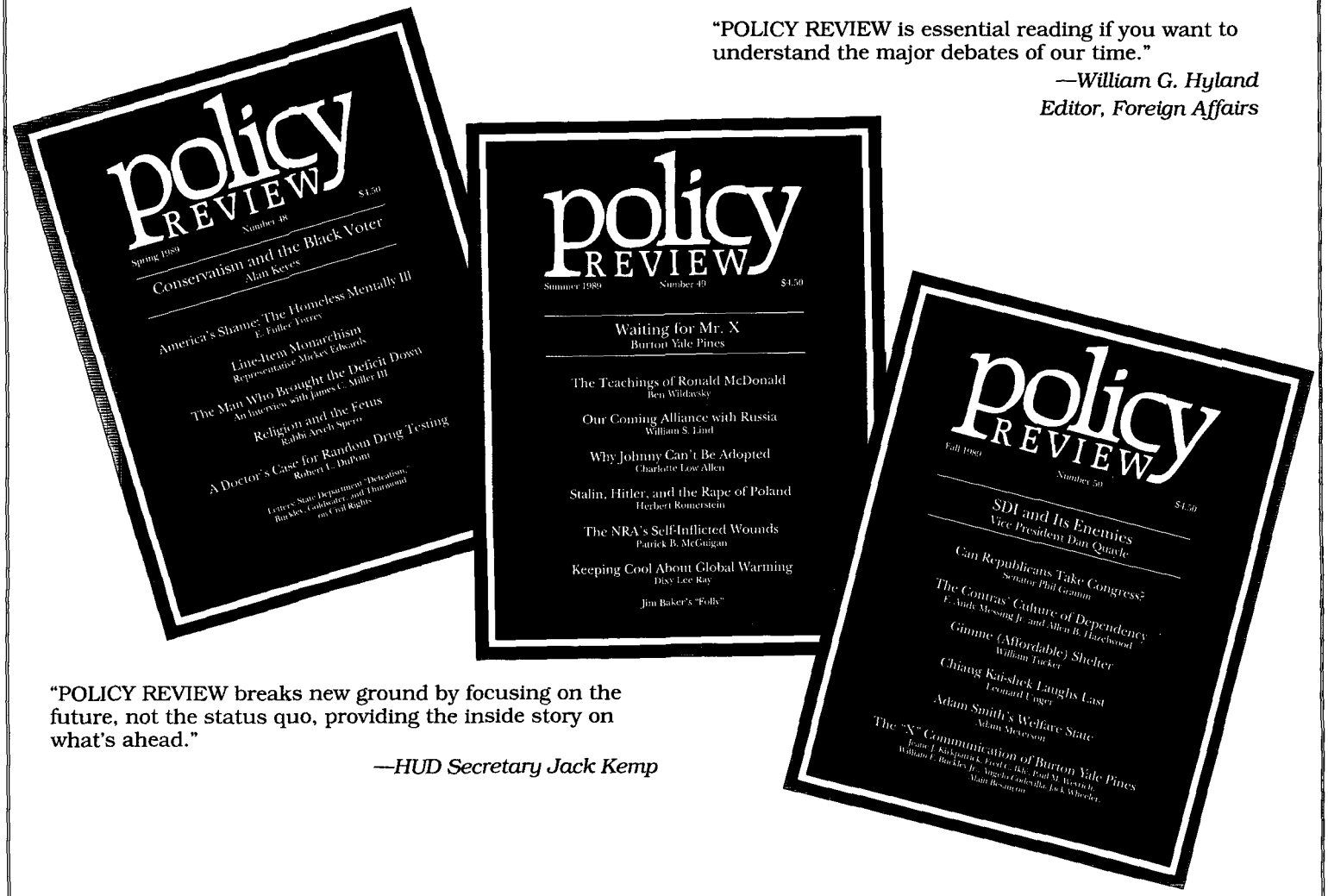

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Poverty fighters 100 years ago were more compassionate—in the literal meaning of "suffering with"—than many of us are now. They opened their own homes to deserted women and orphaned children. They offered employment to nomadic men who had abandoned hope and most human contact. Most significantly, they made moral demands on recipients of aid. They saw family, work, freedom, and faith as central to our being, not as life-style options. They did not allow anyone to eat and run.

Marvin Olasky
Beyond the Stingy Welfare State: What We Can Learn from the Compassion of the 19th Century

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